

The Outlook

JUNE 2, 1915

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ITALY ENTERS THE WAR

After nine months of neutrality Italy has gone into the war with the Allies. Italy's declaration of war against Austria-Hungary makes her the eleventh nation to enter the great conflict. As *The Outlook* goes to press it is unofficially reported that Germany has declared war on Italy, but such a declaration is superfluous. That Germany will aid Austria goes without saying.

Elsewhere in this issue, under the general title "Italy and the War," our readers will find an editorial discussion of "The Causes of Italy's Action," and following that an interview with an Italian journalist, giving the Italian point of view; an interview with a Hungarian journalist, giving the Austro-Hungarian point of view; a sketch of "Three Italian Leaders;" a résumé of the historical background of this new phase of the war; and a poll of the international press.

Among the first hostilities announced were the bombardment of Italian Adriatic towns as far south as Barletta by Austrian destroyers, and a naval engagement near that port between an Austrian cruiser and three destroyers on the one hand, and two Italian destroyers on the other, in which, Vienna claims, one of the Italian vessels was sunk. Italy's task is now to clear the Adriatic of these darting raiders, which, theoretically, she is powerful enough to do.

The size of the Italian army has been exaggerated by many newspapers, but there is little doubt that when her Government threw down the gage of battle she had about 1,000,000 well-trained and excellently equipped men in the field. In all probability, to cope with this force the Teutonic allies will find it necessary to draw troops from Galicia, a welcome event for Russia, which has been hard put to it since the collapse of her Carpathian campaign.

But Italy's army is forced to fight under great geographical disadvantages. In the Carnic Alps the international border is south

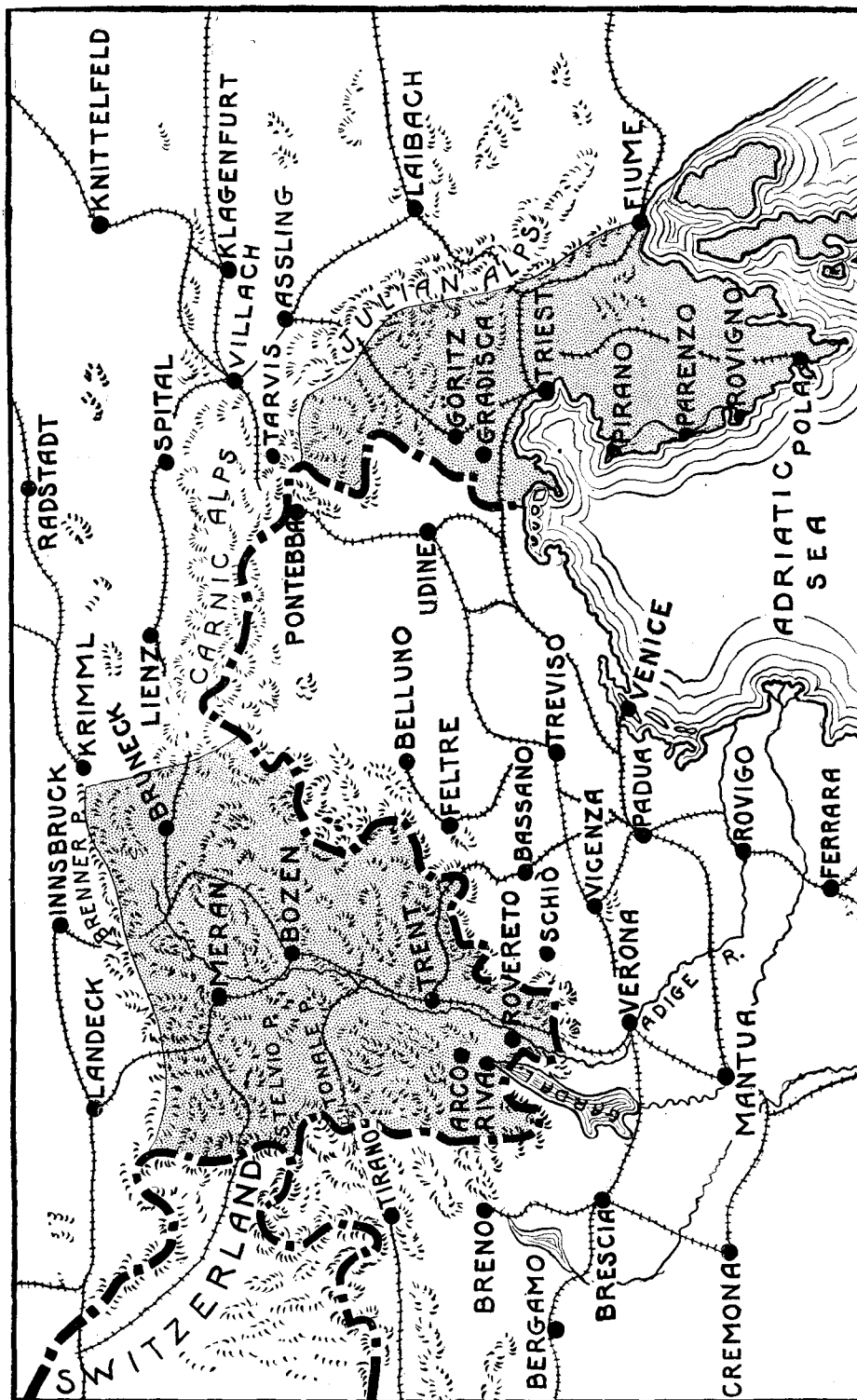
of the mountain ridge, and, in fact, along most of the mountainous Austro-Italian boundary the Austrians have the force of gravity behind them. It is said that in all the Italian army maneuvers held near the border the "invaders" have won, and it will be only a fulfillment of the predictions of most military experts if Austria finds it easy to penetrate Italy below the Tyrolean section of the border, for the valley of the Adige is a trough debouching into northern Italy.

The first noteworthy successes, however, were apparently to the Latins. As this issue of *The Outlook* goes to press, it is reported that the Italians, moving on Trieste from Udine, have captured the small border towns of Caporetto, Cormons, Cervignano, and Terzo, and that the Austrians have withdrawn to the east bank of the Isonzo. Such preliminary successes have their greatest importance in the moral effect they are likely to have on the emotional Latin temperament, already thoroughly aroused for the fray with Italy's traditional enemy.

ITALY'S STRENGTH

On land Italy ranks fifth and on sea sixth among the nations as a military Power, unless Russia's programme of naval construction has been so accelerated within the past few months that she has overtaken Italy in sea strength, which is doubtful. Italy has six modern dreadnoughts and at least a score of pre-dreadnought battle-ships and effective armored cruisers. On paper her navy is more than a match for Austria's. A result of her entrance as a combatant is bound to be the reinforcing of the armada operating against the Dardanelles, for many of the French and British ships that have been patrolling the Mediterranean and the Adriatic will now be released.

On sea, as ashore, "the lay of the land" gives Austria an advantage over the peninsular nation. Pola, Austria's chief naval base, is so near the northern Adriatic Italian shore as to



THE AUSTRO-ITALIAN FRONTIER

The country north and east of the heavy border line is the southwestern portion of Austria, while south and west of the border is the northern part of Italy. The shaded areas are the principal parts of Austrian territory which Italy is said to have demanded

constitute a pistol pointed at the heart of Italy in the same sense as Antwerp is a pistol pointed at the heart of England, to use Napoleon's classic phrase. Farther south, Sebenico and the Bocche di Cattaro are naval bases well placed for raids on the southern shores of Italy, and the Dalmatian Islands provide the sort of cover that destroyers and submarines delight in. On the other hand, the Italian Adriatic shore is lacking in large, well-protected harbors, and the fortifications of Venice are said to be inadequate to ward off an attack by modern battle-ships. The best defense of Italian ports against Austrian ships is the Italian navy, and this, with perhaps some French reinforcements, should be powerful enough to hold the greater part of the Austrian navy in port, as the French and British ships have held it.

THE OTHER CAMPAIGNS

The opening of the Italian campaign threw the other campaigns into a shadow, which only operations of first importance could have dispelled, and no such operations took place during the week. In the Dardanelles the land fighting seems to be, on a small scale, a replica of the situation in France and Belgium. Most of the gains are to the Allies, but they are matters of yards only and are attended by heavy losses on both sides. The report that the Turks in the Black Sea have sunk the Russian battle-ship *Panteleimon*, a vessel of the pre-dreadnought type, had not been confirmed up to the hour of going to press.

The report that the American steamer *Nebraskan* was torpedoed or mine-struck off the southern coast of Ireland is news of grave import, although the first despatches have it that the vessel was not sunk and that no one aboard her was injured. But if it proves that the vessel was torpedoed by a German submarine, the very delicate situation between the United States and the Kaiser's Government will become increased in tension.

Around Ypres there has again been hot fighting. Aided by their use of gas, the Germans gained a few British trenches to the east of the cloth-making town, but as an offset the British recaptured the town of Steenstraete.

More important was the capture of all the German positions on the Lorette Hills by the

French, who have been striving for these vantage-points near the railway center of Lens since last November. The rumor persists that Germany intends a retreat to her second line of defenses in France and Belgium. The persons responsible for it, whoever they are, may be permitting their wishes to father their thoughts, but if men continue to be killed and disabled at the rapid rate that has been maintained since August, Germany will soon have to shorten her lines or bolster them with more men. And now that Italy is at war, the combined population of Germany, Austria, and Turkey is less than half the combined population of their opponents.

The veil that has shrouded the developments of the past few weeks between Russia and her foes has lifted enough to make clear beyond doubt the fact that the reverses of the Russians from the Baltic to the Uzsook Pass in the Carpathians have been serious indeed, and have far overbalanced the Russian successes in eastern Galicia and Bukowina.

In western Galicia the Russians now occupy the old defensive positions east of the San River which they held during the earlier stages of the war. At a few points the Austro-Germans have crossed the San in the effort to take Peremyshl and restore its ancient name, Przemyshl, which the Russians changed in March. There are indications that the remarkable Austro-German offensive is losing force as it gets farther and farther from its base of supplies, and the probable necessity of sending reinforcements from Galicia to the Italian frontier will further weaken it. Nevertheless, had it not been for the valiant efforts of the Russian left along the Stryi and Dneister Rivers, the Teutons might already have enveloped the Czar's Carpathian army as the French were enveloped at Sedan. The belligerence of Italy is gratefully received by Russia, whose head, under the bludgeonings of Hindenburg, is decidedly "bloody but unbowed."

PORTUGAL

The so-called revolution in Portugal turns out to be the attempt by one set of republicans to oust the Ministry in power. That Ministry was presided over by General Castro. The new Ministry, the result of the revolt, was to have been presided over by Senhor João Chagas. Hardly had Senhor Chagas accepted the post of Premier, however, when

he was shot by one of his opponents, and, in consequence of very serious wounds, has now resigned. In his letter of resignation the Premier said that in resigning he did not believe that he was deserting a post he should hold, for the elections, which take place during the first week in June, will doubtless bring in a new Ministry.

For a long time reports from Portugal have referred to serious dissatisfaction with the administration of affairs, and the Government has been freely characterized as arbitrary and drastic.

One of the most irritating features of the new Republic to many Portuguese was its inimical attitude with regard to the Church. As the parochial clergy still possess much influence over the peasantry, it seems unwise for any Government, especially one which professes to depend upon popular support, to drive a large part of the population into permanent hostility to it.

In the second place, the peasantry and many other Portuguese had been under the naïve impression that with the overthrow of the monarchy all wrongs were to be righted forthwith. Unfortunately, however, many of those wrongs persisted; above all, the traditional system of corruption. As a result, there were many monarchist plots and consequent courts martial condemning prisoners to long terms of solitary confinement.

Nor was this all. Even some of those who had taken part in the overthrow of the monarchy were so far from satisfied with economic conditions that there were bread riots in Lisbon, followed by the proclamation of martial law throughout the Republic.

Under all these circumstances it was comparatively easy for the opponents of the late Ministry to gain a few restive sailors to their cause, who assassinated their commander and opened a bombardment from their cruiser on Lisbon. This was the signal for riot there between certain mutineers from the army and the loyal troops. A considerable number of persons were killed and wounded. There has been as yet no confirmation, however, of the first reports that the number had reached alarming proportions.

In Portugal, as elsewhere, there is the necessity for a strong man. Although the Republic has now had ample opportunity to show what it is worth, it has apparently developed no statesman of great ability. Shall "the man on horseback," whether dictator or king, be the ultimate issue?

THE PAN-AMERICAN FINANCIAL CONFERENCE

Last week in *The Outlook* Mr. John Barrett, the head of the Pan-American Union told of the purpose of the great gathering of delegates from the countries of South America and Central America now going on in Washington. The opening sessions of the Conference more than justified the prediction that the occasion would be such as to attract and hold the interest of all America. President Wilson's address of welcome has been justly praised for one of its two chief utterances, and, we think, as justly criticised for the other. Nothing could have been finer or truer than the President's declaration that the nations of this continent are not "trying to make use of each other, but trying to be of use to one another," or, as he further expressed it, "The basis of successful commercial increase is common interest, not self-interest. It is an actual interchange of services and of values. It is based on reciprocal relations and not selfish relations." There is some reason to suppose that our southern neighbors are not entirely convinced that the commercial interests of the United States are willing to combine with the extension of their own field the improvement of the other nations and peoples concerned. This was emphasized by President Wilson's address, and even more forcefully by that of a delegate from Cuba, who eloquently declared that what the United States had done for Cuba must be taken as a pledge of friendship for all of the nations of this hemisphere.

The second utterance of President Wilson to which we have referred seemed to show that his mind is still strongly inclined to the ship purchase plan, which has been more completely and thoroughly disapproved of by the country than often happens with proposed legislation. Mr. Wilson said: "I am perfectly clear in my judgment that if private capital cannot soon enter upon the adventure of establishing these physical means of communication, the Government must undertake to do so." In reply to this it may be said that if there is no other way by which communication can be established between North and South America except by the Government, the people may consent to have the Government undertake it, but the first thing the President ought to do is to see whether private enterprise cannot be induced to do it—a plan which has not yet been fairly tried!

When we lacked manufactures in this country, our statesmen did not proceed to establish National manufactures; they worked out a scheme to promote manufactures by private enterprise.

Secretary McAdoo, Secretary Redfield, and Postmaster-General Burleson discussed practical methods of improving trade and financial relations between all the countries of America in a hopeful spirit and with interesting reports of steps already taken, such as the provision in our Federal Reserve Law which permits our National banks to establish foreign branches, like that of the National City Bank in Buenos Aires. Mr. Warburg, of the Federal Reserve Board, urged an all-American financial credit system independent of Europe. The responses of the visitors from the Latin countries were friendly in the extreme. Dr. Calderon, from Bolivia, in particular, enthusiastically indorsed the President's views, and asserted again the necessity for unselfishness and fair dealing and for willingness on the part of all the countries participating to join in serving ends of common helpfulness. Señor Triana, from Colombia, eloquently advocated a Monroe Doctrine in which all-America should take part for all-American interest, with a solemn covenant against the coveting by any country of any other's territory.

THE LAKE MOHONK CONFERENCE

What has been commonly called the Peace Conference at Lake Mohonk, which has been held every spring for twenty-one years, has really always been a Conference devoted rather to international justice. It is known as the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration. Its session this year was for three days, from the 19th to the 21st of May, and, true to its character, it was devoted to the question of securing justice between nations.

One of the most noteworthy features of the Conference this year was the assembling there of delegates appointed by business organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and National bodies of manufacturers and merchants, as well as boards of trades and chambers of commerce from Canada and fifteen States.

The Conference in its platform called attention to what has been accomplished since the Napoleonic wars; thus, in the midst of this present war, when much for which

this Conference has been working seems to have been lost, restoring a sense of perspective and emphasizing gains that will remain in spite of the war. These gains it recorded as follows: (1) the development of international law; (2) the growing sense of obligation and duty between nation and nation; (3) the increase in interdependence and co-operation among nations; (4) the wider application of the Federal principle; (5) the tendency toward broad alliances or groupings for the accomplishment of international ends.

Following the identical proposals made at the recent World Court Congress in Cleveland, the Mohonk platform proposed the following for joint action by any two or more Powers, to be binding on the signatories:

I. All justiciable questions arising between the signatory Powers, not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a judicial tribunal for hearing, and judgment both upon the merits of the case and upon any question of jurisdiction.

II. All non-justiciable questions arising between the signatories, and not settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to a Council of Inquiry and Conciliation for hearing, consideration, and recommendation.

III. Conferences between the signatory Powers shall be held from time to time to formulate and codify rules of international law, which shall thereafter govern in the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal mentioned in the first proposal.

The business men assembled made a separate declaration recording their belief that the great end of international endeavor should be the establishment of justice between nations; that nothing is more useful or effective to this end than a general international system of arbitration, co-operation, and agreement; that they believe in the formation of a code of international law; that they recognize the difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of their programme; and that they believe it to be the part of wisdom at present for the United States to be fully prepared to defend itself from possible injustice and aggression.

The most striking addresses at the Conference were on the subject of preparedness. The Secretary of War delivered an address which, if space allowed, we should like to print in full. He declared that in the United States there is not the remotest danger of militarism, but there is need for preparation for self-defense. If there is fear that those who are strong shall misuse their strength, that is no reason, he said, why we should not be strong; and those who fear

that we shall misuse our strength should frankly answer the question, "How do you justify your trust that other nations which are strong will refrain from misusing their strength against us, if you fear that we, if strong, would misuse our strength against other nations?" "Righteousness," said Mr. Garrison, "is not self-executing." Our own lack of aggressive intention and freedom from covetousness are not a sure reliance, for evil preys upon virtue. Secretary Garrison quoted a saying that it does not matter so much what happens as the courage with which you face it. He dismissed as of no weight the objection to the expense of preparation, and he closed by saying that if we are worthy to possess our institutions of freedom we must show that we cherish them and will protect and defend them.

President Hibben, of Princeton University, in a strong address, also upheld the right of America to defend itself, its institutions, and its obligations. There was discussion of the proposal for a League of Peace enforced by some form of international police. Professor John Bassett Moore, formerly Counselor to the State Department, pointed out the difficulties in the way, and indicated certain lines on which such a plan would have to develop, particularly with reference to the rights of small nations.

Such addresses as these are not usually associated with peace conferences. But they are eminently appropriate at such a Conference as that at Lake Mohonk, which is devoted not to peace as an end but to justice and right dealing between nations.

FOR THE STUDY OF INDUSTRIAL WARFARE

It is reported that there is dissension in the Commission on Industrial Relations. This body was formed to study conditions of industrial warfare. It was created because a large number of students of industrial conditions believed that the country needed, not more heat, but more light. It had a great opportunity, and it has thrown that opportunity away. It might have served its purpose if it could have been guided by the right sort of man. The Chairman of the Commission, however, has conceived it to be his duty not to investigate but to accuse, and it is understood that there are members of the Commission who do not agree with his view.

Recently the Commission called again to the stand Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Some of the questions which Chairman Wals directed at him and the tone in which he asked those questions Mr. Rockefeller justly resented. If Mr. Rockefeller had been defendant in a criminal suit and Mr. Wals had been the Government prosecutor, the attitude on the part of the Chairman might have been justified, but it showed in no degree the temper of the investigator.

This Commission expires by limitation of law next August. It was created by an Act which was signed on August 23, 1912, and its term of life was then limited to three years. On the mistaken impression that its term was longer, The Outlook suggested that the next Congress might be in the mood to abolish the Commission; but when the next regular session of Congress begins there will be no Commission to abolish.

There is need of some Government body to do permanently the work that this Commission was temporarily charged with. Such a body did exist in the Department of Commerce and Labor; but since the unfortunate division of that Department into two departments there has been no permanent Governmental body which can deal with industrial problems from the point of view, neither of the employer nor of the employee, but of the whole country. Any investigation by the Department of Commerce now would be under suspicion by the employee, and any investigation by the Department of Labor would be under suspicion by the employer. Here was the opportunity of the Commission on Industrial Relations. That body is temporary and has failed to do what it ought to have done. Congress ought to establish a bureau (either independent of any department as the Inter-State Commerce Commission is independent, or in some way connected with both the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce) which should be charged with the duty of dealing with the whole aspect of industrial relations as the Department of Agriculture deals with the problems of agriculture. Such a body should, in the spirit of the student, gather pertinent facts and report upon them from time to time, and should hold itself ready, as a repository of such knowledge to put it at the disposal of any inquirer. In spite of the failure of the present Commission on Industrial Relations to do anything of this sort, we hope that Congress will ultimately establish such a permanent bureau or commission.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE NEW YORK CONVENTION

As a result of the action of two successive New York Legislatures, the voters of the Empire State are to be asked to declare at the polls next November whether they want women to vote in New York. For several years the suffragists have been fighting with raiseworthy determination to have that question submitted to the New York electorate. Then, when apparently they had won, they earned that the fruit of their efforts might be spoiled before they could eat it. In plain words, their cause was threatened by a technicality.

This technicality lay in the fact that the present Constitution of New York declares that if an amendment by the Legislature and one on the same subject by a Constitutional Convention be submitted to the voters at the same election the action of the Convention "shall supersede" any action of the Legislature. In other words, the vote of the people on the woman suffrage amendment, which is to be submitted to them pursuant to the action of the Legislature, would be of no consequence, inasmuch as that amendment applies to the present Constitution, which is being revised by the Convention now in session at Albany. To be effective a clause providing for woman suffrage would have to be included in the new Constitution. Yet if this were done, it was pointed out, to defeat suffrage its opponents would have to veto the entire new Constitution.

A way out seems to have been provided by Mr. Louis Marshall, himself an anti-suffragist. He has proposed to insert in the tentative Constitution now being drawn up a provision to the effect that if the people shall in November approve the new Constitution as well as the suffrage amendment proposed by the Legislature, the latter shall be considered as an amendment to the new Constitution to take effect with its several provisions.

"If, on the other hand," says Mr. Marshall, "the legislative proposition is defeated at the polls, then the action of the Convention with respect to the subject of suffrage shall be controlling. This method of dealing with the unique problem which is presented will meet any possible contingency, and will constitute an express interpretation by the people of the new Constitution and a declaration by them of their intentions."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Marshall's plan, or another plan promising the same results—one can be found—will be adopted. The

far-seeing opponents of suffrage, as well as the advocates of this reform, should unite in deploring any attempt to befog the issue. The deliberate defeat of suffrage by a technicality would not only be dishonorable, it would make the subject more of a burning question than ever and would be to the ultimate advantage of no one.

THE DECISION IN THE BECKER CASE

Last week the Court of Appeals of the State of New York refused to grant a new, or third, trial in the case of the former police lieutenant of New York City, Charles A. Becker, twice convicted for the murder of Herman Rosenthal. Apparently nothing can now prevent the execution of Becker except conceivably a pardon from Governor Whitman, who, as District Attorney of New York City, twice conducted the prosecution against Becker, or, but also most improbably, some form of procedure in United States courts. This latter appeal would, of course, be impossible unless it be asserted with a fair show of reason that Becker's rights under the United States Constitution have been violated, or that there is new evidence in his favor.

One beneficial result of this decision will be its assistance in putting an end to the too common and loosely framed charge that it is impossible to obtain convictions against men of wealth or political influence. Much talk of this kind was heard after the granting of a second trial in the Becker case, but no one who has followed the case could doubt that in granting the second trial the Court of Appeals was actuated by the highest motives, and that it had what some lawyers consider sound legal justification for its action. The errors committed, as the Court held, in the first trial were avoided in the second trial, and the prosecution was then so carefully conducted to avoid doubtful points that it was inevitable that the verdict should be reaffirmed by the higher Court.

Another matter to which this decision will call attention is the almost unendurable delay of the law in New York State in the final decision of important criminal cases. Rosenthal was murdered on July 16, 1912; conviction at the first trial was obtained on October 24, 1912; the new trial was not granted until February 24, 1914; the second trial was begun and ended in May, 1914; and the final decision upholding the conviction

came only on May 25, 1915. In other words, nearly three years have elapsed since the crime. These figures speak for themselves. Neither in Great Britain nor in Massachusetts could such a delay be possible. The New York Constitutional Convention now in session is to consider action by way of an amendment to the Constitution which would obviate some of the delay now so prevalent both in the civil and criminal courts. It certainly now has before it an object-lesson of a striking character.

We need hardly remind our readers that the Becker case has been one of the most famous and important in this country's criminal annals. The man Rosenthal was a gambler who had quarreled with other gamblers; they feared disclosures on his part, and Becker equally feared those disclosures because he was at the head of a base criminal conspiracy between the police and the gamblers under which tribute was paid to the police by the gamblers and they were protected by the police. It was extremely difficult to trace the instigation and execution of the murder from Becker down to the wretched thugs who actually killed Rosenthal. The fact that the connection was established was a tribute to the skill, persistence, and fearlessness of the District Attorney and of the judges who presided at the two trials.

THE TRIBUTE TO CHARLES FROHMAN

It was not because of the tragedy of Charles Frohman's death, in the sinking of the *Lusitania*, nor because he was the greatest figure in the American theatrical circles, that his funeral in New York last week and the tributes to his character and personality were so impressive. To most Americans, probably, Mr. Frohman was simply the head of what was loosely called a theatrical trust; perhaps many, without knowledge, regarded him as a hard and severe man. Nothing was further from the fact; a man who said when death was staring him in the face, "Why fear death? It is the most beautiful adventure in life," was not that type of man. What he was—a friend to all those who worked for him or with him, a man who never made a written contract with actors, not because he could not hold them to the contract, but because every one knew his word was as good as a written bond, a man who was almost paternal in his relations with those members of his profession

under his supervision, a man who was both affectionate and modest—amply appears from the heartfelt utterances of his many friends, from the eloquent appreciation of Rabbi Silverman and the equally feeling remarks of Augustus Thomas, and, most of all, from the tribute of Sir James Barrie, who knew him as few authors and dramatists did.

No one else could have written the gentle, affectionate, at times delicately humorous, talk about Frohman which appears under Barrie's name in the London "Mail." If any of our readers have failed to see this article, we are affording them the possibility of a sincere pleasure by referring them to the New York "Evening Post" of May 24, in which it is reprinted—as very probably it may have been in other papers. Who but Barrie could have spoken of "the vitality of this Niagara of a man," adding, "They could have lit a city with it." Who but Barrie could have told the story of what he whimsically called "his sixteen-year quarrel with Frohman," and of Frohman's getting Barrie to prevent the production of one of Barrie's own plays? These passages we cannot refrain from quoting:

He was very dogged. I had only one quarrel with him, but it lasted all the sixteen years I knew him. He wanted me to be a playwright and I wanted to be a novelist. All those years I fought him on that. He always won, but not because of his doggedness; only because he was so lovable that one had to do as he wanted. He also threatened, if I stopped, to reproduce the old plays and print my name in large electric letters over the entrance to the theater.

A very distinguished actress under his management wanted to produce a play of mine of which he had no high opinion. He was in despair, as he had something much better for her. She was obdurate. He came to me for help, said nothing could move her unless I could. Would not I tell her what a bad play it was and how poor her part was and how much better the other parts were and how absolutely it fell to pieces after the first act? Of course I did as I was bid, and I argued with the woman for hours, and finally got her round, the while he sat cross-legged, after his fashion, on a deep chair and implored me with his eyes to do my worst. It happened long ago, and I was so obsessed with the desire to please him that the humor of the situation strikes me only now.

On the serious side, Sir James tells us that Frohman loved his schemes as a succession of many-colored romances, but always "pushed them in front of him, always taking care that they were big enough to hide him,"

r, says Barrie, "I have never known one more modest and no one quite so shy." And again, "His innumerable companies were children to him; he chided them as children, soothed them, and forgave them, and certainly loved them as children." Frohman lived the stage, knew all its tricks and tawdriness, but always entered the theater like a boy going to see his first play. Only in the final paragraph of Sir James's article is a note of bitterness, and even that is expressed as if Barrie could have written it:

Perhaps it is fitting that all those who only made for honest mirth and happiness should wince and go out of a world because too wicked for them. Strange to think that in America Dernburg and Bernstorff, who we must believe were once good men too, have an extra smile with their breakfast roll because they and theirs have drowned Charles Frohman.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

The connection between the Union Theological Seminary and the General Assembly established in 1870 was subsequently dissolved. The report of the Committee of the General Assembly made to that body, and reported in *The Outlook* last week, declares that the directors in dissolving that connection did what they ought to have done. For the General Assembly now to say that the Seminary is not a Presbyterian seminary about as if they should say that the New York "Evangelist" since it has united with the "Christian Work" is not a Presbyterian journal, or as if we might say that the Southern States are no longer the Confederate States. It is a union seminary, not a Presbyterian seminary. We have already said that this is in the spirit of the foundation.

For further details we refer our readers to last week's *Outlook*, and simply add that the Assembly has confirmed by unanimous vote the report of that Committee.

What will be the effect of this on the Union Theological Seminary? It will probably result in making conservative churches more cautious about Union Theological Seminary, and progressive churches more desirous to get graduates from that Seminary. Under Presbyterian government, no minister can be installed over a church without the approval of the presbytery, which is the local ecclesiastical body. Conservative presbyteries may therefore prevent Union students from taking churches within the presbytery, but a church can always employ a minister as act-

ing pastor without installing. For seventeen years the editor-in-chief of *The Outlook* was acting pastor of a Presbyterian church, and never belonged to the Presbytery, and never subscribed to the Presbyterian Confession of Faith. There is no reason why any church may not follow the example of this one.

This vote of the Assembly is not a setback for the Union Theological Seminary. It simply clears the air and is a statement by the official National body of Presbyterian churches of what has been true for a good many years and what the Seminary itself recognizes as true.

NORWAY'S WOMAN TENNIS CHAMPION

American women will have to look to their laurels on the tennis court. A foreigner, Miss Molla Bjurstedt, of Norway, has invaded this country, has already won the National Indoor Tennis Championship and the Women's Metropolitan Tennis Championship, and threatens to sweep everything before her on the outdoor courts this summer.

Since the American woman became athletic—a transformation that occurred some time during the last two decades of the nineteenth century—she has been accustomed to almost as large a portion of success as the American man has won in his somewhat broader field of athletic competition. On the tennis court Miss May Sutton, of California, in particular, established a reputation for athletic American femininity. But there is no May Sutton playing for America to-day, and tennis enthusiasts are wondering if any American woman is capable of stopping the victorious rush of this challenger from Norway, who in her own country is as pre-eminent on the court as Miss Sutton was in America.

Miss Bjurstedt has been playing tennis since she was no taller than a racquet. For eleven years she has been the woman singles champion of Norway, and to-day she holds the doubles championship of her country with her sister, Miss Valborg Bjurstedt. Up to the time that this was written, since coming to America a few months ago the young Norwegian champion had won the four tournaments which she had entered, and in the thirty-odd sets which she had played in these tournaments only two Americans, Mrs. Marshall McLean, a former National title-holder, and Miss Marie Wagner, New York State champion, had been able to wrest a set from her.

Miss Bjurstedt, whose photograph appears

on another page, plays with a fire and dash that betrays the viking blood in her veins.

THE KIKUYU PRONOUNCEMENT

Readers of The Outlook will remember that in June, 1913, a Conference of missionaries of different communions was held in Kikuyu, in East Africa. Among others who took part were the Anglican Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda. The Conference, which was one of unusual interest, closed with a communion service in a Presbyterian church, in which the two English bishops took part. Thereupon the Anglican Bishop of Zanzibar sent a formal communication to the Archbishop of Canterbury charging the Bishops of Mombasa and Uganda with "propagating heresy and committing schism" because they had taken part in the Conference.

The Archbishop of Canterbury consulted the two accused bishops and refused to allow proceedings against them for "heresy and schism," but decided to ask the advice of what is known as the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference, a kind of executive committee acting between meetings of the Conference. This Consultative Body held a session during the closing days of July last, and was attended, among others, by the Archbishops of York, Armagh, and Jamaica, the Primates of Canada and of Scotland, and other distinguished prelates of the English Church. The matter, which had awakened a great deal of interest throughout England, was entirely overshadowed by the outbreak of the war. On the basis of the conclusions of this body the Archbishop of Canterbury has now made a pronouncement embodying those conclusions.

The Consultative Body recognized "no essential difficulty in inviting a minister or lay person not of our own communion to address our people, providing the bishop inviting him or authorizing the invitation is satisfied as to his qualifications." They held that a baptized person who had not been confirmed might under certain circumstances be admitted to the communion, the responsibility resting on the diocesan bishop. The Archbishop points out that the Prayer-Book specifically enjoins that admission to communion shall follow confirmation, but that this rule must be open to exceptions.

MISSIONARY CO-OPERATION

This touches a question which has been widely discussed in the Episcopal Church in this country.

With reference specifically to the communion service which closed the Kikuyu Conference, the Archbishop, following the advice of the Consultative Body, says that the service is to be judged as a spontaneous expression of Christian love, and not as establishing a precedent for ordinary occasions. The language of the Consultative Body touching this service was that it was "unpremeditated, and prompted by an impulse of a deeply Christian kind." They believe that "for the purity of its motive, and for the love that was in it, it was acceptable to Him to whom it was offered, and whom its participants united to adore."

The Archbishop recognized the fact that the conditions which the missionaries who attended the Conference are facing are unprecedented in Christian history, and that the missionaries must have, therefore, large freedom of action, that in each country the native church must define its loyalty to Christ without perpetuating the historical differences marked by the missionaries who have brought the message to them.

This recalls an address of Phillips Brooks made many years ago on his return from Japan, in which he said that the one and only thing which missionaries have to do in Japan is to take the Lord Jesus Christ there and leave him with the Japanese. The Thirty-nine Articles and the Westminster Catechism have no place, he said, in the missionary field. Christ was an Oriental, the Japanese are Orientals; they have nothing to do with our ecclesiastical and theological differences. They will in the course of time make their own definition.

Co-operation between missionaries is inevitable. It is happily an accomplished fact in Japan; it is imperatively needed in a country like Africa. The fact that the Archbishop of Canterbury leaves the door ajar shows that the head of one of the most conservative churches in the world recognizes conditions which force themselves on every open-minded missionary, and must dictate the missionary policy of the future in all foreign countries.

NEW YORK STATE INDIANS

It is not generally known that there are several Indian reservations in the State of New York. One of these reservations con-

sists of six hundred and forty acres and has as inhabitant—one Indian.

It may be asked, What business has the Federal Government upon a New York Indian reservation? Because these Indians have rights which antedate the making of New York State, and which are therefore the business of the Federal Government.

There are about six thousand five hundred Indians in the State. They are divided among widely separated reservations. Some of these are of particular interest; for instance, that near Southampton, Long Island, where the rise in value of land has been prodigious, owing to the nearness of a notable summer resort. The Salamanca Reservation is also of especial interest for the reason that the city of Salamanca stands on it.

It is supposed that the reservations do really reserve the Indian land from white settlement and from the danger which besets the Indian in the form of liquor, and yet the records go to show that the Indians are not much worse off with regard to the liquor vice than are the whites.

Some of the reservations preserve the old Indian traditions, language, customs, and manners. It is even claimed that a few Indians in the northern reservations of the State do not understand the English language.

A NATIONAL MINISTRY

At the very beginning of the war the French organized a National Cabinet. The representatives of all the parties united to deal with a great emergency. This placed at the command of the country the highest talent and the widest experience; it also erased party lines and secured complete unity of action. At the beginning of the war many people in England felt that such a Cabinet ought to be formed in that country. The Conservatives rejoiced that a Liberal Government was in office because a Liberal Government would be slow, by reason of its principles and traditions, to embark on a foreign war except for reasons which would command the assent and concurrence of the whole country. But it was generally felt that the silencing of all party tumult and the disappearance of all party lines ought to be made effective by a Cabinet which should include representatives of all parties and command the initiative as well as the support of Liberals, Unionists, Labor men, and Na-

tionalists. Such a Cabinet has now been formed.

What has happened has not been a Cabinet crisis in the usual sense of the word. The differences between Mr. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Fisher, First Sea Lord of the Admiralty, and the criticism of Lord Kitchener, Secretary for War, might give ground to those unfamiliar with democratic methods and English traditions for the feeling that there was some slackening of effort, some uncertainty of public opinion in the attitude of the English people towards the war. The Cabinet changes, however, mean nothing of the kind; they indicate a more resolute determination to put at the service of the country all the available capital of statesmanship in England. The support of all parties is confirmed and made effective by the representation of all parties in a Cabinet which includes twelve Liberals, eight Unionists, a non-partisan (Lord Kitchener), and a Labor leader, and which stands, not for a party, a group, or a section, but for all England; while Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, remains absolutely unshaken in his position, the choice, for the moment at least, of both parties; and Sir Edward Grey, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, retains the confidence in his ability shared by all parties.

The reconstructed Ministry is not only a national Ministry but distinctly a Ministry to conduct the war. All local questions have been put into the background. England is now dealing with a single issue; and the entire force of her political genius, military power, and public opinion is concentrated at a single point.

The attacks on Lord Kitchener have come mainly from the London "Times" and the "Daily Mail," two leading newspapers controlled by Lord Northcliffe. They have been seconded by a few other journals, of which the "Daily News," a Liberal journal, is the most prominent. At the beginning of the war Lord Kitchener, who is a man of thoroughgoing military temperament and habit, and who believes that wars are conducted in the interests of nations and not of newspapers, established a very exacting censorship over the news published by the English journals. Lord Kitchener is a man of force rather than of tact. It is quite likely that he gave unnecessary offense. It is certain that he was thinking of the interests of the country rather than of the newspapers; and his offense, if

he was guilty of an offense, was in the right direction. Democracies charged with the ultimate responsibility of government have a right to know what the government is doing; but when very difficult and critical military operations are being conducted, the newspaper reporter often serves the enemy instead of the people of his country.

Lord Kitchener is also charged with having made his name too prominent in the appeals for volunteers. This will strike the American reader as being an extremely infantile objection. The fact is that, while King George is very highly respected by the English people, Lord Kitchener's name has a magical power; just now the country needs men—it was of all names the name to conjure with. Those who know anything about Lord Kitchener's character, his resolute concentration on his work, his indifference to public opinion, will smile at the naïve innocence of editors who charge him with a desire to advertise himself. Another ground of criticism has been that he has been hampered by the methods that were successful in South Africa, and has supplied the British troops in the trenches with shrapnel when they should have been furnished with heavy explosives. Very likely this mistake was made; it is quite certain that it has been rectified. It has also been said, and probably with a good deal of truth, that he has been overworked; and the fact that the energetic and tireless Lloyd George has been assigned to a position of the first importance in the War Department is evidence that too heavy a task has been laid on Lord Kitchener's shoulders. The criticism of Lord Kitchener has made, apparently, very little impression on English opinion, except to evoke indignant protests. The universal confidence in his ability has not been shaken.

Mr. Churchill, as First Lord of the Admiralty—and this means the general direction of naval affairs from London—continues the tradition of ability, energy, audacity, and willfulness created by his father, which made that versatile and forceful person almost as dangerous to his friends as to his foes. Before the war began Mr. Churchill rendered a great service to the English navy by his energetic organizing genius; and it was undoubtedly he who mobilized the North Atlantic fleet and had it ready for action the moment war was declared. He was one of the little group of Englishmen who have been saying for the past few years that war with Germany was inevitable; and one of

the few, therefore, who had taken any steps to put England in readiness for the conflict. The charge against him has been of undue interference with naval operations; and the two special instances of that interference were the landing of a large body of English marines at Antwerp when the fall of the city was already certain, and the inadequately supported attack on the Turkish forts at the Dardanelles. Neither of these blunders—if they were blunders—has been fatal; but there has been a very serious crisis in the relations between Mr. Churchill and Lord Fisher, the professional head of the British navy. Lord Fisher, a pre-eminently capable man, resigned rather than submit to further interference. Mr. Churchill is now given the largely honorary position of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Twelve members of the old Cabinet remain in office, but of these twelve only six retain their old portfolios.

The change of chief interest is that of Mr. Winston Churchill; the second is that of Mr. David Lloyd George, who has been Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now becomes Minister of Munitions, a new office created as an adjunct to that of the Secretary of War. Lord Kitchener remains as Secretary of War. As a matter of fact, however, the War Office has been greatly increased in efficiency by the accession of so successful an administrator as Mr. Lloyd George to the directorship of what has proved England's most difficult task.

In much the same way the Foreign Office has also been increased in strength by the accession of the Marquis of Lansdowne, who becomes that unique and newly created official, a "Minister without Portfolio." While Sir Edward Grey has shown masterly efficiency in his conduct of the Foreign Office, it is feared that his health may not altogether endure the present very great strain. If he were to have a coadjutor, no one in either of the great parties would receive so much popular trust as Lord Lansdowne, who has been responsible for the initiation and promotion of the two most remarkable moves in foreign politics during recent years, the Japanese Alliance and the French Entente.

Equally interesting is the accession of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the labor leader, who becomes President of the Board of Education. Not only has the new Cabinet gained the cooperation of a man well fitted for his new task, but it will enjoy the prestige of having as an agent one who knows well how to rally

the workingman to the Government's support.

The accession of Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader, who becomes Attorney-General, is a striking event. Mr. Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, to whom an office was offered, has declined to enter the Cabinet. This declination has been accompanied by some particularly inept Irish comment from Nationalist papers and an ill-considered resolution by the Irish party in meeting at Dublin.

The accession of Mr. Arthur Balfour—the most distinguished Conservative in public life—brings into one Cabinet the leaders of the two great parties in England. Nothing like this has occurred in American history since the days when Hamilton and Jefferson sat together in Washington's Cabinet.

THE RIGHT TO SPEAK THE TRUTH

Unwillingly and unconsciously William Barnes has done his State and his country a real public service. When he brought suit against Theodore Roosevelt for libel in connecting Mr. Barnes with a non-partisan alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics, there was wonder at his temerity. Now that a jury has justified the statement, all good citizens can be grateful that Mr. Barnes was more bold than cautious. The outcome of the trial at Syracuse is far-reaching in its effects. Those who see below the surface have known from the beginning that the case was far more than a personal lawsuit. It is the most recent phase of the long struggle for liberty. That is the reason for the tremendous National interest in the proceedings and its issue, an interest that has never flagged during the whole five weeks. The American people felt instinctively that there was something of vital import at stake; there was point in the Philadelphia "Ledger's" reference to the trial as "a political Bunker Hill."

Liberty with responsibility is the basis of that free speech without which democracy is nothing. The verdict vindicates that right. If an honest and honorable statesman denounces corrupt political bargaining and has such proof as will convince reasonable men of the truth of his assertions, he is a moral coward if he holds his peace. Punish, through legal quibble and overstrained technicality, one such man who dares to face per-

sonal persecution for the general good, and you endanger free speech. It is the function of the jury to bring the clear, common-sense view of the outside world into the court-room. In finding for the defense in this case the jury declared that Mr. Roosevelt spoke the truth, that he was justified in what he said, that there had been, in fact, a bargain between corrupt politics and corrupt business in which Mr. Barnes had shared. Justice Andrews charged: "There is but one defense. That is truth. If the charges are true, there is no libel. You have the right to publish the truth concerning any one. The truth of charges is a complete answer to a complaint." And the jury so found. The American people felt instinctively that free speech, free institutions, a free government, human welfare, were met at Syracuse in deadly conflict with machine tyranny, Toryism, reaction, the use of government for private purposes.

Public and jury alike know enough about the wiles and ways of the machine system to enable them to read between the lines the story of both craft and graft. The jury of twelve men seemed to have been left in no doubt either as to the evidence or as to the character of the contestants. One of the jurors, for some whimsical and unaccountable reason, at first wished the small and technical court costs to be divided between the principals, but this conditional verdict, illegal in form, was later made legal and unanimous for the technical defendant, Mr. Roosevelt. The jurymen were of all the leading political parties, including a number of strong organization Republicans, the foreman of the jury being one of these last.

The verdict was a triumph for the jury system, its essential democracy and justice. The methods under which juries are obtained in parts of the State of New York and elsewhere are just now giving great concern to the people of New York and to the country. The Constitutional Convention of the State of New York is considering far-reaching changes in the methods of the selection of jurors, and is also considering the question as to whether in civil cases the majority of the jurors—ten to two, for example—should not decide. Just at this time it is well to have our faith strengthened in the essentially sound instinct for fact and right of the average man on the jury.

In a sense, it is party government which has been on trial at Syracuse. The so-called

party organization has been shown to be in too many cases an inner group bent upon personal selfish aggrandizement and private gain for themselves and for powerful privileged interests which have given them financial backing. If party government is to continue, and especially if the two-party system is to be maintained, the whole must be made more responsible and responsive to the public sense of freedom and right. That this was one of the inner meanings of the struggle at Syracuse was evident from the manner in which the Hughes group of New York State Senators stood at Roosevelt's back throughout the trial. They recognized it as a climax of the fight that Hughes made in the State for party freedom and responsibility and public welfare. Everywhere one hears the remark that nothing for years has happened that makes so strongly for clean politics in New York State as this trial.

When the trial was first under way, it was a common thing to hear such comments as, "Politicians are all alike; Roosevelt's methods were much like Barnes's; Roosevelt used Barnes and Platt when he needed them and disowned them when he didn't." Unfair reports in prejudiced papers encouraged this sort of ignorant assumption. It is one of Mr. Roosevelt's triumphs in the outcome that most people—all those who read reports, not merely headlines and partisan comment—now know the difference between a scheming, selfish boss and a party leader working for justice and the general good. It has been said that a mugwump was a man who sat on a fence and made faces, a progressive (of whatever party) a man who took off his coat and went to work. So, too, a statesman is a man who makes politicians work under him for a large public purpose, not a superior critic who declines to deal with any man who has no halo of political saintship. Here, again, the verdict has cleared the air.

The result of the trial should be an inspiration to the young men of the United States, who in all the political parties are getting a vision of the new day, but who have recently felt that the fight was going hard in America for democracy and freedom. There are many such young men connected with the old party organizations, but ready to break away if they think the time is ripe for it. The opportunity for this newer and better leadership is increased by the defeat of Mr. Barnes and the triumph of Mr. Roosevelt.

We congratulate Mr. Roosevelt on his personal vindication, but we even more warmly congratulate the country on such a splendid reassertion of every man's right to speak the truth and fear not.

AN UNDELIVERED ADDRESS

If The Outlook were a delegate to the New York Constitutional Convention it would like to deliver to that body an address something like the following :

Gentlemen; You have an opportunity to set to the country an example which, followed, would be of incalculable service to the Republic. It would require faith in the people—in their capacity for self-government, their courage, their self-restraint. You may reject this counsel; but we pray you give to it unprejudiced consideration before you reject it.

The capital defect of democracy is its inability to get honest, capable, efficient servants to do its will. The name politician ought to be one of honor. It is one of opprobrium, and that despite the honor with which some noble men in National, State, and municipal administrations have robed it. What is the reason? Can you find the cause and furnish a cure? We wish to suggest to you an answer to these questions for your consideration.

We all work for a reward. The rewards which most attract men are three: money, fame, the joy of working.

Democracy denies to its servants all three of these rewards, and then wonders that it does not get better service.

It pays them small salaries; the judge less than private practice pays an able lawyer; the Governor less than the corporation pays an able manager; the Senator less than business pays the partners. No politician ever gets rich on his salary.

It denies them fame. It makes them perpetual targets for newspaper archers who do not hesitate to use poisoned arrows. Bigotry, banished from the church newspapers, resorts to the political newspapers. Every Republican office-holder is presumed guilty by the Democratic press until he is proved innocent, and the Republican press pays the Democratic office-holder in the same coin. And, as if the party press could not manufacture public suspicion fast enough,

State legislatures and the National Congress compete with them. Investigations are the order of the day. That an officer or a department is engaged in doing a large work is deemed reason enough for ordering an investigation.

If, despite the small salary and the hazard of public scandal, a good man takes office, he finds that he is denied the joy of working. He cannot appoint the subordinates he wishes to help him. He cannot remove the subordinates who work against him. He is bound hand and foot by irksome regulations. He is hampered by an elaborately constituted system of checks and balances. A distrustful people, fearful that their servants will do wrong, have hedged them about by so many restrictions that they cannot do anything. The executive cannot do anything without the sanction of the Legislature, and the Legislature cannot do anything without the approval of the courts. Democracy is entangled in a web of its own weaving.

You cannot do much to increase salaries. Government will never pay as much for public service as private business will pay for private service, for the simple reason that government is not a money-making business. It is a money-spending business. Stockholders are willing to give a good share of their profits to the men who work for them. The stockholders in the corporation which we call the Nation cannot give a share of the profits to their servants because there are no profits to share with them.

You cannot do anything to protect the servants of the people from slander except by a censorship of the press, and the remedy would be worse than the disease. Public opinion now condemns the murderer who robs his victim of his life, the thief who robs him of his property, the adulterer who robs him of his family; but it buys and eagerly reads the newspaper which robs his victim of his reputation. The remedy for that cannot be furnished by a Constitutional Convention. It must be furnished by public opinion.

But you can do much to give public servants the joy of working. And the joy of working is the reward which the best of men most covet. It is not the big fee which is the chief reward of the best surgeons; it is the "beautiful operation." It is not the big retainer which inspires the best lawyers; it is the hope of winning the case. It is not the big salary which keeps the railway presi-

dent at work early and late; it is the achievement of making and managing a road which carries civilization in its pack. Give our public men the joy of working, and you will get for the public service men who find their chief reward in doing their work efficiently. Therefore:

Give us the short ballot; fewer men to elect, more power in the men elected. Let the Governor, like the President, choose his own Cabinet. Then the people can hold the Governor responsible for the State administration as now they hold the President responsible for the National administration. Give to the administration more power. Modify or, better, give the Legislature power to modify the civil service regulations. In the endeavor to avoid political corruption in our civil service we have destroyed its efficiency. There is no danger in centralizing administrative power in the chief executive, so long as he is made directly and frequently responsible to the people. Deny him legislative power, give him executive power; take off the shackles, but contrive so that the people can hold him to a strict accountability for his acts and the acts of his subordinates.

Give the Legislature power. It is better to trust the Legislature to meet issues as they arise than to trust to rules and regulations which you prescribe and the courts enforce. If the people do not like their work, the people can change the Legislature. But confine them to their proper work—legislation for the State.

Give the cities home rule. Trust them to govern themselves. Let them frame their own charters. The inhabitants of New York City are as competent to frame their city charter as the inhabitants of Arizona or New Mexico to frame their State Constitutions.

In short, make your Constitution short and simple, a Constitution of general principles. Follow the example set by our fathers in the Federal Constitution. This means, Trust the people. That is what democracy means. If the people cannot be trusted, then democracy must be abandoned and we must go back to the government by oligarchy which our fathers abandoned, or government by bureaucracy—the government of Russia.

Our whole undelivered speech to the Constitutional Convention may be summed up in one sentence:

Fewer public servants and more power to them.

ITALY AND THE WAR

I—THE CAUSES OF ITALY'S ACTION

THERE are two Italys. One is the Italy of intrigue; the other the Italy of idealism. One is the Italy of Machiavelli; the other the Italy of Mazzini, of Garibaldi. One is the Italy of astute diplomacy; the other the Italy of popular enthusiasm.

Which Italy is it that has now entered the war?

Italy's enemies say it is the Italy of Machiavelli, the Italy of intrigue, of official diplomacy. Italy, they say, waited until she saw which way the struggle was going, meantime bargaining for land; then, forgetting her obligations as a member of the Triple Alliance, she chose at the critical moment to turn against her old allies for the sake of a share in the spoils.

Is this a just judgment? We believe it is not. This is not to say that Italy during these months of war has given herself over to unthinking enthusiasm and has forgotten her skill in diplomacy. On the contrary, Italy's statesmen during these months have shown themselves worthy successors of those who helped to form Italy's great diplomatic traditions. Diplomacy does not necessarily mean intrigue, perfidy, selfishness. On the contrary, Italy's greatest diplomat and statesman united diplomacy with the cause of liberty, and used his statesmanship for the establishment of national unity based on freedom. And to-day, thanks to Cavour, Italy has grown to be a great nation under one of the most democratic of kings.

The Italy that has entered this war is not the Italy of Machiavelli, the Italy of diplomatic intrigue; neither is it the Italy of mere radical idealism, the Italy of Mazzini. It is rather the Italy of Cavour—the Italy of both liberation and statesmanship.

Two years ago Italy had her warning. Then Austria and Germany proposed to do what they are doing now. They called upon Italy for support. Italy said, No. Germany held Austria in leash. A year later—last June and July—Austria and Germany, without consulting their ally, Italy, united in their aggression upon Serbia.

It is Austria that has brought Italy into the war. There may be found in history two Italys, but so far as international relations are

concerned, only one Austria. Austria has never had a Cavour. And when last July she made war on Serbia, repudiating all chance of peaceful settlement, declining the intervention of other Powers, and ignoring the rights and interests of her ally Italy, she made war on all of democratic Europe, and directly affronted and threatened Italy herself.

If Italy had then joined forces with France, England, and Russia, she would have been justified. But Italy was patient and waited. Thereupon began the interesting struggle between the two Italys within herself, between the two forces of official authority and of public opinion.

During the intervening months it has been clear that public opinion has been urging Italy into the war, and that official authority has been restraining Italy from war. Now at last official authority has yielded to public opinion and Italy has joined the Allies.

The official has been thinking largely of Italy's territorial opportunities, of its relation to the governments of other countries, of its future position geographically and diplomatically. He has also known what the possibilities of war are, what preparation for war involves, and what the results of war may be. The man-in-the-street, on the other hand, is moved by more primitive instincts. He has not been anxious to get into the war for the sake of getting territory; he has not been concerned very much about the strategic value of a strait here or a harbor there. The common people of Italy have, rather, been moved by a common impulse toward national liberty and national unity, and they have been affected by their memories of what has happened to Italy in the past. The Italian people remember their struggle for liberation, and they remember that in that struggle their worst foreign foe was Austria. And mingled with their feelings aroused by the memory of their past is a feeling of comradeship for Italians living under Austrian rule across the Adriatic.

The Italian people may be mistaken, but they are not bent on a war of selfish aggression, they are not stirred by mere desire for self-defense, although they dimly see the dangers to Italy that would follow a defeat for the cause of the Allies. The disappearance

of the revolutionary spirit and of discontent shows that they have become united, as the Russian people have become united and the French people have become united, in the face of what each believes to be a great national cause.

In entering the war on the side of liberty, democracy, and international law Italy places

herself where she belongs. Under these circumstances war can only have upon the people of Italy the effect of unification, and upon Europe it will have the effect of making heavier the punishment that is destined to fall upon those who, in the name of autocracy, have trampled under foot the public law of nations.

II—FROM AN ITALIAN POINT OF VIEW

IN order that our readers might be able to get the Italian point of view with regard to the war, a member of the editorial staff of *The Outlook*, in an interview, put to Signor Felice Ferrero a number of questions. Signor Ferrero, brother of Guglielmo Ferrero, whose historical works and whose essays are well known to the American public, is an experienced newspaper correspondent, and in the course of his duties has served in Berlin, in the Scandinavian countries, and in Austria. He is the American correspondent of the "*Corriere della Sera*," of Milan. We here print the questions as they were put to him and his answers:

1. *Was Italy guilty of unfaithfulness in not joining Austria and Germany at the outset of the European war? Is Italy now guilty of unfaithfulness to her pledges as a member of the Triple Alliance in making war on Austria?*

No, in both cases. The treaty of the Triple Alliance was of a strictly defensive character. Since Germany and Austria started an aggressive war, and, moreover, seized a very bad occasion for it, Italy was not bound to help them. It is to be remembered that Austria meant to attack Serbia in 1913 and that Italy warned Austria then that she would refuse co-operation. Germany then sided with Italy and Austria abandoned the plan.

The treaty required its parties each to notify the others of any intended political move; Austria did this in 1913, but not in 1914, a fact which by itself rendered the treaty null and void. As a matter of further correctness, Italy formally withdrew from the Alliance on May 4, regaining her liberty of action.

2. *Did Italy regard it as an offense against her for Austria and Germany, her allies, to make war on Serbia without consulting her?*

Yes. As stated above, the war against Serbia was not only an offense but a breach

of faith. Furthermore, Austria refused to guarantee the integrity of Serbia in case of victorious outcome—which was one of the conditions that Italy put forth for her own neutrality.

3. *Why is Italy at war with Austria?*

Is it aggressive land hunger that has driven her, like the land hunger for which the Allies have condemned Germany?

How large a factor in this war is Italy's inherited distrust of Austria? Are the Italian people in the war because they believe the Allies are fighting for liberty and democracy and the public law of nations?

Are they fighting because they like the English and feel akin to the French and dislike the Teutons?

To a certain extent the desire for aggrandizement has moved Italy to act: this refers especially to her desire to expand in Albania. An excuse—if sought—may be found in the fact that the Albanians seem hopelessly incapable of orderly government and that Albania is a wild country in the completest sense of the word. Such a condition cannot continue in the midst of Europe; some Power or other is bound to be called upon to bring about a tolerable state of political organization there for the benefit of all. It is somewhat the case of America and the Filipinos, but in the very middle of things. Italy's claims are the greatest, since she has been for centuries the refuge for Albanians fleeing from Turkish oppression, and even now harbors a large Albanian population in southern Italy.

However, the chief factor in Italy's decision is the desire to satisfy her national aspirations. The national wars of Italy, 1848–70, unified the country only partially. Thanks to Prussia, Austria in 1866 was enabled to retain the Italian territories she now holds, and to arrange the frontier to suit herself. It should not be forgotten that the Italians of Austria have always been treated as a con-

quered population by the Government of the Empire of which they were nominally a part on equal terms—a fact officially admitted by the German Chancellor when, a few days ago, he solemnly announced to the Reichstag that Austria “was willing to pledge fair treatment” to her Italians, as a notable concession.

Political distrust (hatred, possibly) of Austria certainly made the decision easier, as did the strong sympathy of the Italian people for England and France and for English and French defense of free, constitutional government. The ruthlessness of German warfare and the oppression of Belgium have stirred Italy deeply; the sinking of the Lusitania probably did more than any other one thing to cement the unity of the people at the last moment and persuade the waverers.

4. *In every war there is an element of calculation and an element of sentiment. How have these two elements been involved in this war? If Italy has wanted to enter the war for moral considerations, why did she not go into it at the beginning?*

While the official crisis turned exclusively on Austro-Italian affairs, the people at large (and the Government indirectly) have been growing more and more concerned with the German side of the European controversy. Of late the Italians have shown themselves highly incensed against Germany—a condition unknown at the beginning of the war. The entrance of Italy into the war assumes, therefore, a character of anti-German as well as anti-Austrian intervention. Judged from this point of view, Italy's war is, then, not only one of national aspirations, but one of moral impulse, in which the elements of sentiment and fairness have a most decided prevalence over any element of calculation—at least as far as the people are concerned.

In the action of the Government, calculation necessarily has its part, the function of a government being precisely that of regulating the impulses of the people according to its light of reason. It cannot be considered unfair, considering the serious risks of the undertaking, if Italy expects some compensation at the end of the war beyond the satisfaction of national aspirations, such as territory in Asia Minor. In like manner, the United States made war on Spain to free Cuba, but was indemnified by the cession of Porto Rico and the purchase of the Philippines.

As said above, the anti-German feeling

was at first either wanting or very moderate; German behavior has gradually stirred it up. National aspirations were present, but these and moral impulse were at the beginning not sufficient to obscure the practical fact of Italy's lack of preparation for any action whatever.

5. *If it is not land hunger, why has Italy been bargaining with Austria during all these months for territory which does not now belong to her?*

An article of the treaty guaranteed Italy territorial advantages if Austria should gain any for herself. Austria occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, but refused Italy the promised compensations. This is the legal base of the Austro-Italian *pourparlers*. However, as previously stated, over and around this Austro-Italian dissension there has grown in Italy a strong anti-German feeling, which has finally overshadowed it.

6. *Even though some of this territory is occupied by Italians, why has Italy been demanding territory occupied by Germans?*

Judging from the fragmentary knowledge we have of Italy's Green Book through cable reports, Italy did not demand of Austria the cession of territory inhabited by Germans, *i. e.*, the Tyrol. She was very reasonable even in the matter of Trieste, of which she finally asked, not the cession, but the creation into an independent state (not a free imperial city, as proposed by Austria). The territories claimed by Italy would naturally include some German or Slav villages—an inevitable fact, owing to the absence of any marked geographical separation along the line of contact. To offset this Italy did not lay any claim to territory where Italians live among populations preponderantly Slav, *viz.*, the Italian city of Fiume, the coasts of Istria, some parts of Dalmatia, and the Italian city of Zara.

7. *Is it not just as reprehensible for Italy to attempt to control the Adriatic as it is for Germany to try to get to the coast at Calais in order to be able to control or share in the control of the English Channel?*

The idea of the Italian control of the Adriatic is a very simple one—that there should be in it no naval bases of any nation, whether Austrian or Serbian or Italian, and that the sea should be open to the peaceful use and enjoyment of all. Such an ideal is impossi-

ble of realization as long as Austria has access to the Adriatic. In presenting her very moderate demands Italy implicitly accepted Austrian right to a naval base at Pola, and disavowed any intention of controlling the Adriatic herself.

8. *Supposing Austria conceded to Italy all the territory she demanded, would the latter fight on moral grounds, anyway?*

Concession is now too late; but, if Austria were to make it, the war would nevertheless go on. Germany is now too important an issue in the Italian mind.

9. *Is there real conflict between official Italy and popular feeling? What part has the King had in this preparation for war? Is the pro-war feeling the outbreak of objection to German control in Italy? Did the Giolitti incident contribute to the outbreak?*

No; the Government has naturally been more cautious. Delay in entering the conflict was due, not to dissension, but to the desire of the Government to be well prepared for the emergency. The at-all-cost neutralists are a very small minority. Many rumors have been circulated concerning the King; but the King of Italy is a strictly constitutional monarch and does not allow himself to cross the clearly expressed will of the people.

Pro-war and anti-German feeling has been fostered by German intrigue and the intervention of Bülow, who has played in Italy the same rôle that Dernburg tried here, and with the same results. The final and petty attempt of the Prince to corrupt newspapers and stir trouble in the internal politics of Italy added the last straw. Intense disgust followed the Giolitti intervention; this was a catastrophe both for Giolitti and Germany.

10. *What effect will Italy's going into the war have on Rumania and the Balkans in general?*

The intervention of Rumania and Bulgaria seems inevitable: that of Greece more doubtful. Greece is under strong German dynastic influence and seems to be regarded askance by Russia.

11. *What part can Italy play in the war? Will it be to affect the fighting in Europe, or will it be mainly to contribute to the attack upon Constantinople and for the control of the Mediterranean?*

The Austro-Italian frontier is so rugged, well fortified, and guarded on both sides that anything serious or decisive there is unlikely for the present. Just now the natural scene of action for Italy is the Dardanelles and Asia Minor around Smyrna (her assigned sphere of influence). After the fall of Constantinople, or upon the intervention of Rumania against Austria, Italian action directly against Austria would be easier. The most important result of the moment is the closing of the chief avenue of contraband supplies for Germany and of the only considerable market still open to German exports; this completes the English blockade.

12. *How well prepared is Italy to stand the strain of war?*

The war will, of course, be a severe strain on Italy's finances; but she is in a condition to meet the difficulty, both through her own internal resources (surplus, savings, etc.) and her credit abroad. Moreover, in the near prospect of crushing finally Prussian militarism and Austrian autocracy Italy as well as her new allies sees the radiant hope of at least partial disarmament, of coming freedom from the weight of heavy military budgets, and of prompt recovery after the great effort.

III—FROM AN AUSTRIAN POINT OF VIEW

ON the preceding pages Signor Felice Ferrero, through an interview, sets forth the Italian point of view on the causes and issues involved in the dispute with Austria-Hungary and Germany. In order to get a statement of the other side of the case, one of The Outlook's editorial staff interviewed Dr. Ervin Acél-Starhemberg, managing editor of the "Hungarian American Reformed Sentinel," and city editor of the "Hungarian

Daily," two Hungarian papers published in New York City. Here are the questions which Dr. Acél-Starhemberg was asked, and his answers to them:

1. *In accordance with the terms of the Triple Alliance, why did Austria-Hungary not notify Italy in the summer of 1914 of her intention to attack Serbia?*

Austria-Hungary did not notify Italy because as a member of the Triple Alliance

Italy understood the matter very well; she was already notified in spirit. Austria had had three crises with Serbia and Italy was always notified, and Italy knew perfectly well the purposes of Austria. Italy knew that the purpose of Austria was to punish Serbia. Therefore it was not necessary to notify her again; and, furthermore, there was very little time for such notification.

Moreover, it may be said here that Italy's interest is the opposite of the interest of Serbia, because Serbia and Italy both want to seize the east shore of the Adriatic Sea. Should Russia be victorious in this war, Serbia will get the east shore of the Adriatic and she will menace the hegemony of Italy over the entire Adriatic. Therefore every step which is taken by Austria-Hungary against Serbia is to Italy's advantage. It is a vain, lame excuse on the part of Italy when she says that she takes up the sword because Austria-Hungary wishes to punish Serbia or has designs on Serbia's integrity.

2. *What are Austria's intentions towards Serbia?*

When the war started, Austria had no intention of taking any part of Serbia. She only wished to punish; but now, yes, now Austria intends to divide Serbia, to wipe her out of existence entirely, because Serbia is always a trouble to Austria-Hungary. Serbia has caused Austria-Hungary to mobilize three times; she is always making trouble. Italy had some ambitions in the Balkan States and Austria-Hungary also had ambitions; but when Italy made war on Turkey for Tripoli, Austria and Italy made an agreement to the effect that Italy was to have Tripoli and that Austria was to have a free hand in the Balkans. Italy understood this perfectly; and that is the reason why she was not officially notified when the present war was declared. She understood, and she had already got her share of the spoils.

3. *That is to say, then, that when Austria-Hungary took action against Serbia last August she considered the treaty with Italy practically null and void? She considered any notification of her designs on Serbia unnecessary?*

Yes. Every question involved had been discussed with Italy many times; Italy knew every step; no official notification was necessary; and Italy had already had her remuneration.

4. *In other words, Italy had had her share of the profits of the partnership, and therefore it*

was only fair that she should stand by when Austria took her share in the Balkans?

Yes. And the war was not a surprise. It was perhaps somewhat of a surprise that it came when it did; but all Europe knew that war would come. Every possibility of the war had been discussed many times by all the Governments in the Triple Alliance; and it positively had been discussed that Serbia should be punished. Italy agreed to this; and it was not necessary to notify her again. And, furthermore, as I have said, Austria had no time; she gave even Germany only scant notification in advance; but Germany stood by.

5. *Austria, then, was frankly moved by greed in her action against Serbia?*

No, not at all; because Serbia is a very poor land, and Austria-Hungary already has many Servians in the Dual Monarchy. The Servians have always caused trouble; and we do not need more. Austria wants to divide Serbia because Serbia is always a trouble. Serbia is like a foreign substance in our body; she causes constant inflammation.

6. *Then Austria wants to remove Serbia as a Slavic peril always causing trouble?*

Yes. Now the whole map of Europe will be changed, and we shall abolish Serbia. She is an inflammation in our body.

7. *How will you abolish her?*

We shall divide Serbia between Bulgaria and Albania, and keep a part for ourselves.

8. *Some of the Italians say that Italians living within Austrian territory are unfairly treated by the Austrian Government, and that they have not the same rights as Austrians. Is that true?*

It is not true that Italians are unfairly treated. In Fiume and Trieste the whole administration is Italian—not German or Hungarian, but Italian. The language of the tribunals is Italian. The Italians have all rights. In Dalmatia there is a very small percentage of the population Italian; the larger part is Slavic, and so we cannot afford that this part shall be administered in Italian; but where the Italians predominate there the administration is Italian and all Italians have the full rights of citizenship.

9. *If Austria was right in her action against Serbia, why has she been so ready to bargain with Italy?*

We knew we were right; but, for example, when you are attacked on the street by a

highwayman you may know you are right, and yet bargain with him. That is the answer.

10. *What will be the outcome of the war so far as Italy is concerned?*

My opinion is that Italy will not at all influence the general situation. Italy cannot attack Austria directly, because of the well-fortified mountain ranges that are a natural bulwark for Austria on her Italian frontier. Of course there is another way to attack, by way of Servia and Montenegro. But that will take from three to five hundred thousand soldiers, and the way is long; and when she gets into Servia she will find it infested with typhus, which will decimate the Italian army. Further impediments are the bad roads in Servia and Montenegro, and the broad Danube and Save rivers. Now, on the other hand, it is very easy for Austria to attack Italy. The Trentino runs into the very heart of Italy like a gun-barrel, and all Austria needs to do is to pull the trigger. Thus the richest part of Italy will be destroyed as Belgium and northern France have been destroyed; and it may happen that the people of the Po Valley will see again "barbarians" from the north pour down from the slopes of the icy Alps.

It may also be that Italy will send troops into France, or perhaps to the Dardanelles; but the latter course is unnecessary because when the Allies want to take the Dardanelles they have the men for it. They do not need Italy.

Italy cannot do much to aid the Allies in the west, however. The German wall cannot be broken. It may be that the combined

English, French, and Italian armies will be stronger than the German armies, but a stronger army is of little use unless it can envelop the weaker army—then only is it effective. And the Allies cannot envelop the German line because it is flanked by the North Sea and Switzerland. Thus Italy will attack us in vain and cannot divert us from the crushing of Russia.

11. *Then in the end Austria-Hungary will be the dominating factor in the Balkans?*

Yes. Austria will take what Italy and Servia intended to take in the Balkans and in the Adriatic. This war will be really an expedition of punishment for Italian treachery.

12. *Do you think that Italy's entry into the war will bring other Balkan states in on the side of the Allies?*

It may be that Rumania will go in, and possibly Greece. Bulgaria will remain neutral.

Rumania's real interests are with us, not with Russia; but if the Dardanelles are taken by Russia, then Rumania's commerce will suffer—will be ruined, in fact, for her main product is corn, and Russia is her great rival in the export of this grain. Rumania is between Servia, Montenegro, and Russia; and it is very likely that Russia, for the purpose of reaching Servia and the Adriatic, will invade Rumania.

Rumania was always with us, but now she is losing her head. She is not compelled to go in with either side; she may feel that Russia is stronger than Austria-Hungary, and therefore go over to her; but her interest is with us.

IV—THREE ITALIAN LEADERS

VICTOR EMMANUEL

THE three Italians most talked about now are the King, the Prime Minister, and the Foreign Secretary.

No one can have seen the little Prince of Naples a generation ago in Rome and at the same time have fancied him as he is to-day, a rugged-looking, intellectual, forceful man. An only child of Humbert I, who had married his cousin, the beautiful Princess Margaret, Victor Emmanuel had not the start in life enjoyed by most boys. Realizing this, his father gave him a Spartan training. The

result is apparent to-day in a monarch of courage, wisdom, and firm will, one who realizes the qualities of his great ancestor Charles Albert of Savoy.

Of course, as Prince, Victor Emmanuel held himself studiously aloof from politics. The only occasion when he is said by the Romans to have infringed upon this rule occurred in 1896, after the awful disaster at Adowa, in Africa, when thousands of Italian soldiers were killed by the Abyssinians, guided by French and Russian officers. Then, so Roman gossip says, the Prince of Naples

did actively and strenuously beg his father to stop the war, and so did some other friends of Italy.

At home the King has been a prime mover in all measures of economic and educational reform. Particularly, however, his has been an influence morally. From an age when a king's licentiousness was accepted as a matter of course, we have now come to a time when monarchs are expected to be examples of ideal family life. Especially notable in this regard is the King of Italy. He makes no secret of the fact that his first thought is of his lovely wife and charming children. The other day the King's physician called at the palace and was summoned to the royal presence. He found the King and Queen and all their children seated on the floor in the nursery playing a game.

But no joys of domesticity prevent the King of Italy from doing his full public duty, and that means his duty with regard to foreign as much as regards home policies. When he came to the throne, he realized that Italy, though bound by the Triple Alliance to Germany and Austria, needed to emphasize her wider position in the world. The prosecution of the King's plan in this respect has immeasurably strengthened Italy's position throughout the present war. He brought the relations with England closer. He promoted trade treaties with France; he improved the dynastic relations with the Russian Imperial family, actually giving St. Petersburg priority over Berlin in making his round of European capitals. His cordial relations with the German Imperial family, however, were in contrast to those with Austria. He realized that Germany's relations with Italy were almost wholly commercial and free from hereditary resentments, while, but for the Triple Alliance, Austro-Italian relations would be only an armed truce.

He now meets Austria as an enemy. No one who has followed the King's wisely ordered life has any doubt as to his conduct of the coming campaign.

THE PRIME MINISTER

On another page we present portraits of the King and of Signor Antonio Salandra, the Prime Minister. Signor Salandra will always be notable, we believe, in Italian history for one thing, and that is his steadfast refusal of all Austrian concessions. He represents in an eminent degree the popular

feeling that Austria is an enemy, and that this enemy cannot be compromised with, but must be faced on the field of battle. Hence he has made preparations for war in the most vigorous manner. A remarkable incident in this respect occurred last October. Signor Salandra had been Premier about six months when he was forced to resign as the result of a crisis precipitated by the refusal of Signor Rubini, Minister of Finance, to approve expenditures for war preparation unless the revenue was increased by new taxes. Premier Salandra insisted that preparations for war be undertaken at any cost and that the deficit be remedied later. King Victor Emmanuel at once intrusted to Signor Salandra the task of forming a new Cabinet, which was chiefly noteworthy because Baron Sidney Sonnino, himself twice Premier of Italy and a statesman of pronounced British sympathies, was chosen as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a portfolio which had been rendered vacant by the death of the Marquis di San Giuliano.

Signor Salandra comes from South Italy. He is a Liberal, but with Conservative leaning. Hitherto his reputation has rested chiefly upon his ability as a financier. He has proved to be just the man to introduce the new financial measures in order to meet the situation created by the Tripolitan War, and also to secure the many other millions necessary in order to raise the footing of the Italian army to a condition of readiness to meet the actual situation.

SIDNEY SONNINO

The third man of moment in Italy is perhaps the most important of the three. It has already been noted that Sidney Sonnino was a statesman of British sympathies. This is not unnatural, for his mother was English and he was educated at Oxford. At the time of the formation of the Salandra Cabinet the selection of such a man was regarded as significant of the probable attitude of the new Ministry. And so it proved. No one in Italy or elsewhere, probably, has seen more clearly the real forces at work under the present convulsion in Europe than has Baron Sonnino. In order to fit his country properly to play her great part in the drama he needed "the cold head" of an Englishman as well as the warm heart of an Italian. He needed to hold his emotional countrymen back until Italy was entirely ready by land and by sea to do what every one expected

of her. In all the diplomatic negotiations which have led to the fateful result Baron Sonnino has been opposed by such masters of diplomacy as Prince von Bülow and Baron Macchio, respectively the German and Austrian Ambassadors at Rome. The Green Book now published by the Italian Government,

and in particular that Government's explanatory note to the American Government, reveal not only the methods and results of Sidney Sonnino's skill and determination, they disclose also the ideals of humanity and democracy which animate and inspire the ex-Prime Minister's every effort.

V—HISTORICAL BACKGROUNDS

A RAPID SURVEY OF EVENTS WHICH HAVE OCCURRED ON THE ITALO-AUSTRIAN BORDER

1027. The Emperor Conrad II bestows all temporal rights in the district about the city of Trent, known as the Trentino, to the Bishop, thus detaching it from Italy.

1203. Venice captures Trieste.

1363. Austria acquires the Tyrol.

1382. Leopold III of Austria becomes Overlord of Trieste.

1803. Austria annexes the Trentino.

1847. The "Risorgimento," a daily progressive paper, appears at Turin; editor, Camillo Cavour.

1848. Venice proclaimed a Republic. Insurrection in Austria, especially in the Tyrol.

1852. Cavour Premier of Piedmont.

1857. Austria remonstrates at the attacks of the Sardinian and Piedmontese free press; firm reply of Count Cavour. Rupture of diplomatic relations between Austria and Sardinia.

1859. Austria fortifies the banks of the Ticino, the boundary river between her Italian provinces and Piedmont. The Austrians cross the Ticino. Napoleon III declares war to expel the Austrians from Italy, and his troops enter Piedmont. The Austrians are defeated at Montebello, Palestro, Magenta, and Solferino. Peace of Villafranca. Lombardy is given up to Sardinia. Garibaldi's appeal.

1860. Tuscany is annexed to Sardinia. Austria protests against this step in Italian unification. Victor Emmanuel commands the Italian army. Austria increases her army in Venetia.

1861. Civil and political rights granted to Protestants throughout the Austrian Empire except in Venetia and Hungary. Victor Emmanuel King of Italy. Death of Count Cavour.

1866. Italy declares war on Austria.

Austria defeats Italy at Custoza and in naval battle near Lissa. The Austrian Em-

peror cedes Venetia to the French Emperor. Venetia surrendered to the Italians. When the terms of peace were under discussion, the Italian patriot Mazzini declared that Italy should receive from Austria not only the province of Venice (Venetia), which she did receive, but also the Trentino and Istria, which she did not.

First as to the Trentino. Let us look at a map of Italy. We see that the northern boundary is sharply broken by a jog, the Trentino, southward. This territory, geographically distinguished by the mountains of the Dolomites, has a population at least four-fifths Italian. Hence, from a standpoint of race and language, the Austrian front is a wedge driven between the Italian provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. From a military standpoint, the Trentino is the key from the north to the valley of the Po. Moreover, in climate and production the Trentino is an integral part of Italy.

As to Istria, the peninsula on the eastern Adriatic opposite Venice, there are two reasons for its acquirement. The first is that the eastern shore of the Adriatic is rich in excellent harbors, whereas the western shore is largely without harbors. Hence Italy finds herself at a disadvantage. The second reason is that in Istria the cities are still practically Italian, though the country is Slav. There has been a great revival of Slavic sentiment and a demand that the Slav language shall have the same rights in the schools and courts and public offices as the Italian language enjoys. Now, in Istria, the Slavs are more numerous and prolific than are the Italians. Italians therefore wish to see that none of the territories in which Italian is spoken to-day shall ever forget that tongue.

1882. The Triple Alliance established by Germany, Austria, and Italy.

1900. Austria refuses to permit the estab-

lishment of Italian universities at Rovereto and Trieste.

1911. Italy declares war against Turkey, and Austria mobilizes on the Italian frontier. Austria also prevents the Duke of the Abruzzi from carrying out naval operations to Italy's advantage along the Albanian coast.

1912. Austria and Italy unite on action in Albania.

1913. Italy checks Austria's designs on Servia.

1914. Austria sends an ultimatum to Servia without notifying Italy, thus contravening Article I of the Triple Alliance Treaty.

1915. Austria offers territorial concessions to be effective at the close of the present war. Austria tries, though belatedly, to keep Italy quiet by offering the following concessions, which were also guaranteed by Germany:

First—Part of the Tyrol inhabited by Italians was to be ceded to Italy.

Second—The western bank of the Isonzo, in so far as the population was purely Italian, and the town of Gradisca likewise, were to be ceded to Italy.

Third—Trieste was to be made an imperial free city, receiving an administration which would insure the Italian character of the city and to have an Italian university.

Fourth—Italian sovereignty over Avlona (a seaport of Albania) and a sphere of interest belonging thereto to be recognized.

Fifth—Austria-Hungary should declare her political disinterestedness regarding Albania.

Sixth—The national interests of Italians in Austria to be particularly respected.

Seventh—Austria-Hungary to grant amnesty to political military prisoners belonging to the ceded territory.

Eighth—The further wishes of Italy regard-

ing the general question to be assured every consideration.

Ninth—Austria-Hungary, after the conclusion of the agreement, to give a solemn declaration concerning the concessions.

Tenth—Mixed committees for the regulation of the details of the concessions to be appointed.

Eleventh—After the conclusion of the agreement Austro-Hungarian soldiers, natives of the occupied territories, shall not further participate in the war.

But these concessions, large as they are, did not satisfy Italy, in comparison with what the "Giornale d'Italia" announces as the basis of Italy's agreement with the Triple Entente Powers—England, France, and Russia:

First—Annexation to Italy of Trentino, Istria, Pola, Fiume, Zara, and Dalmatia up to the Narate River.

Second—Annexation to Italy of the Dodecanesso, an archipelago of twelve units conquered by the Italians in their war with the Turks three years ago.

Third—Annexation of Avlona and of the surrounding territory.

Fourth—Ratification of the occidental confines of Libya, assigning to Italy a vast extension of Tunisia.

Fifth—Constitution of an independent Croatian state.

Sixth—Annexation to Italy of a portion of the Ottoman Empire in proportion to the Italian inhabitants.

Seventh—Participation of Italy in the partition of the German colonies.

This would give Italy all she demands of Austria, and in addition a share of the spoils of war to be taken from Turkey and Germany.

May, 1915. Italy demands the immediate effectiveness of larger concessions. Austria refuses. Italy declares war.

VI—A POLL OF THE INTERNATIONAL PRESS

ITALIAN OPINION

"THE situation of Italy," says the Rome "Giornale d'Italia," "became intolerable when Austrian and German aggression against Servia caused the European conflagration without giving previous notification to Rome." As the "Giornale" has long been supposed to reflect the opinions of ex-Premier Sonnino, now Foreign Minister, and as it has lately been looked upon as an administration mouthpiece, its further statements are specially noteworthy:

Italy legitimately undertook to protect her own interests according to the rights granted her by the Triple Alliance Treaty.

Austria, despite German good offices, blindly and obstinately resisted Italy's just demands, rendering inevitable acute antagonism. Therefore Austria alone is responsible for the new war, although Germany is not entirely blameless, but Italy did everything humanly possible to prevent it.

The influential Milan "Secolo" is delighted. It has long urged that Italy give active support to England, France, and

Russia, not only because of legitimate territorial ambition, but also because of sympathy with the nations fighting for democracy against aristocracy. More cautiously, the Milan "Perseveranza" warns against anything that savors of clamor or boisterousness or selfish party ends, and the "Vittoria" prophesies the unlikeliness that any one Power will predominate in Europe after the war, while the "Popolo d'Italia" summarizes the result of radicalism *versus* conservatism, as it declares that "revolutionary Italy has risen and has demanded war."

All the newspapers of Italy give expression to the seriousness of the task that Italy has undertaken.

The "Corriere della Sera," of Milan, for instance, perhaps the most widely read paper in Italy, after comparing the strength of the Italian and Austrian fleets, warns the nation that a victory for Italy can be obtained only after grave sacrifices and hard trials. The newspaper says that submarines and mines have radically altered naval warfare, giving the advantage to the defensive navy over an attacking force of war-ships. It cites as an example of this the fact that Great Britain and France, although maintaining dominion of the seas, have suffered great losses in both ships and men through mines and submarines. Italy, according to the "Corriere," must expect the same treatment. The close proximity of the two shores of the Adriatic, it says, renders Italy more exposed than the northern Allies. The Austrian coast is rich in naval bases, the newspaper continues, while the Italian coast is without one secure natural refuge for modern war-ships.

AUSTRIAN OPINION

Direct quotations from the Vienna papers have not been printed in American journals, but this telegram from Vienna to the pro-Austrian "Frankfurter Zeitung" has been printed:

The exasperation and contempt which Italy's treacherous surprise attack and her hypocritical justification arouse here (Vienna) are quite indescribable.

Neither Servia nor Russia, despite a long and costly war, is hated. Italy, however, or rather those Italian would-be politicians and business men who offer violence to the majority of peaceful Italian people, are unutterably hated.

Two quotations are at hand from Prague papers, which are of particular interest as

indicating that the Bohemian part of the Slav race is, at least outwardly, loyal to Austria. The "Narodanceni Politaka," discussing editorially the entrance of Italy into the war, says: "The monarchy has no fear of the war, which it will undergo victoriously and gloriously with all the more certitude because of the loyal assistance of Germany." And the "Hlas Naroda" declares that the people of Austria and Hungary prefer a passage-at-arms with Italy to an untrustworthy and untenable friendship purchased with very heavy sacrifices.

GERMAN OPINION

The "Berliner Tageblatt," a representative German paper, refers to Italians as disciples of Machiavelli, and declares that it has now nothing but illimitable contempt for Italy.

"We have loved Italy," it says, "according to German traditions, and done our best to secure Italian unity. We understood best the weakness of the Italian character. It is not too much to say that the Italian people may one day turn round. Then it would not only look very queer for the Cabinet of Salandra, but it might also touch the throne, and those who to-day call 'Hosanna!' may to-morrow cry 'Crucify him!'"

According to the military critic of the "Tageblatt," the addition of Italy to the hostile side means for the central Powers and Turkey merely a postponement of their final victory; though not in the same degree now as would have been the case months ago.

The "Vossische Zeitung" calls it a subsidized war.

"On our part," it adds, "every word forced from our choking throats by moral disgust would be too much. Let us not utter words of complaint, but grind our teeth and use other weapons than words to the new enemy."

SWISS AND FRENCH OPINION

The Trentino is doubtless dearer to Italian aspiration than all the other demands put together. The Swiss "Journal de Genève" thus describes the district:

The Trentino is a wedge thrust from the Alpine chain and penetrating into the heart of Lombardy and Venetia. Austria has made a formidable camp of it, a strong base of operations and a sure base in case of retreat. As long as Italy sees this gate to her house occupied by another Power she will have reasons of fear and apprehension each time that the political horizon becomes darkened, and hence

she must keep a larger number of troops on an active footing.

Aside from expressions of racial sympathy for Italy the French newspapers note that Italy's course points the way to other nations, including America. For example, the Paris "Temps:"

What will America do? Italy gives an example of the noblest course.

Germany cannot hurt America, but the latter possesses inexhaustible reserves of men and can seize German shipping worth many millions. How important Germany considers American friendship is shown by the efforts of Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg. Whatever may be Germany's reply, one fact is certain—Germany has lost American sympathy utterly.

ENGLISH OPINION

The general view of the people of Great Britain is expressed, for instance, by the London "Morning Post:"

The people of this country will welcome Italy as an ally, not merely because of the new strength given to the Allies' arms, but because of the old amity and understanding between the British and Italian nations. We are proud to have the Italians fighting with us in the great cause of liberation, a cause the vindication of which must have such far-reaching consequences for the destiny of Italy.

All the Great Powers that stand for freedom are now ranged side by side in one camp.

AMERICAN OPINION

Why does Italy enter the war? The Buffalo "Enquirer" answers:

Outside of a more advantageous deal with the Allies, however, is the reasoning of the Italians that they must fight for their gains if they would keep them. Whatever territorial concessions Austria might make now would be made under duress. That fact would supply reason for Austrian attempt to recover the lost possessions whenever conditions afforded the opportunity. These are days when treaties are no longer respected. The Italians suspect that a victorious Germanic alliance would not leave them in possession of territory extorted by threats, and are quite sure the Allies, if victorious, would not permit them to profit by mere neutrality.

And, more broadly, the New York "Times:"

The Italian Premier believed that public opinion in Italy would reject concessions, no matter how intrinsically acceptable, if their execution was postponed to a post-bellum time. Germany's guarantee apparently was insufficient to overcome the popular distrust of the Austrian neighbor. That was where the spirit counted more than anything else. Again and again the Italian Premier refers to the state of public opinion, to its impatience, to its "anger." Public opinion in Italy controlled the situation and determined the event.

And the Washington "Herald:"

However much the American people may be disposed to criticise the course of Italy's diplomats and statesmen, they can hardly withhold their sympathies from the Italian populace. It is their own war, and even while their Parliament and their Ministers may have had legitimate reasons for prolonging diplomacy and staving off hostilities, it was the voice of the people sounded weeks ago that made war inevitable. The statesmanship of the Government leaders may have been lofty and efficient, but they appear at a disadvantage before the world as bargainers for a price for war or peace. The clamor of the people for the taking up of arms may have justified condemnation from a humane standpoint as well as from that of expediency, but theirs must be the rôle of courageous patriots, too proud to idly watch the world-struggle upon whose finish hinges their fate.

What we are now facing, however, is something more than a contest between rival Powers, as the New York "Tribune" says. It proceeds thus:

It was that when France and Prussia were at war in 1870. It is more than a quarrel over commerce or provinces. It is a fight to preserve the individuality of nations. It is a battle to save Europe from being German, as the Napoleonic wars became a contest to save Europe from French domination. . . .

The entrance of Italy is, in fact, the crisis of the great war, and we are living through one of the great periods in human history. Whatever be the immediate ends of the Italian people, however selfish the incidental occasion of the declaration of war, it will remain a landmark in history because it will promise, as did the entrance of Austria into the Napoleonic strife a century ago, the beginning of the end of a great dream founded upon injustice, upon the repeal of all that civilization and religion have won for the world in centuries.

THE BALLAD OF THE IRON CROSS¹

BY ALTER BRODY

Upon my coat a cross is pinned,
Upon the cross a soul;
Upon my heart a weight I bear
For honor and for dole—
An iron cross with eight sharp points
With silver edged around;

An iron cross with eight sharp points.
With each point like a nail;
An iron cross with eight sharp points,
And each one with its tale—
Each of a hundred souls I sent
In agony to hell!

It was a still and starless night
When we sailed down the Strait—
Our boat was swift, our men were bold,
Our hearts were firm as fate,
When in the darkness we discerned
The masthead of the foe.

It was a still and starless night
When we dived beneath the wave—
Our boat was swift, our men were bold,
And we heard a quick-fire rave;—
And down we dived beneath the sea
To strike for life or death.

It was a still and starless night
When the word was heard from me—
And a fearful flash lit up the sky
And a roaring rent the sea—
And down she sank with all her guns
And twice four hundred men!

She did not fire a single shot
When we fled into the night;
She could not signal to the shore
To warn them of her plight—
And down she sank with all her guns
And twice four hundred men!

We did not stop a moment
To save the struggling men,
But listened to the pulsing fear
That tremored through us then—
And we slunk away like a beast of prey
Into the yawning night.

*God pity us! We did not stop
To save the struggling men,
But listened to the pulsing fear*

¹ The Commander of Submarine No. 12 has been awarded the Iron Cross.—*War News*.

THE OUTLOOK

*That tremored through us then;
And we skulked away like a beast of prey
Into the yawning night!*

It was a gray and ghastly day
When we sailed into port;
They cheered us from the crowded shores,
They thundered from the fort—
But in my spirit stalked remorse
And horror in my heart.

The news flashed over a thousand wires,
The story was retold;
They toasted me in court and camp,
They called me brave and bold;
And on the lapel of my coat
They pinned the Iron Cross!

Five and forty sinful souls
Plunged with me in the murk—
Five and forty willing men
That did the devil's work—
But me they gave an Iron Cross
To wear upon my heart!

I did not drive the engine,
I did not steer the ship;
I did not loose the hellish bolt
Upon its fearful trip—
But me they gave the Iron Cross
To crucify my soul!

An iron cross with eight sharp points,
With each point like a nail;
An iron cross with eight sharp points,
And each one with its tale—
Each of a hundred souls I sent
In agony to hell!

Eight hundred beautiful bodies of men
Plunged in the vast-bottomed deep;
Eight hundred beautiful souls of men
Hushed in eternal sleep—
I cannot look upon the sun
A-thinking of them there!

I cannot look upon the sun,
I cannot breathe the air;
I cannot look upon the earth
With fields and flowers fair—
A-thinking of eight hundred men
Rotting beneath the sea!

*Christ pity me! I cannot bear
The burden on my soul;
The way is long and set with thorns,
And Darkness is the goal—
Christ pity me! I cannot bear
The weight of such a Cross!*

Current Events Pictorially Treated



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

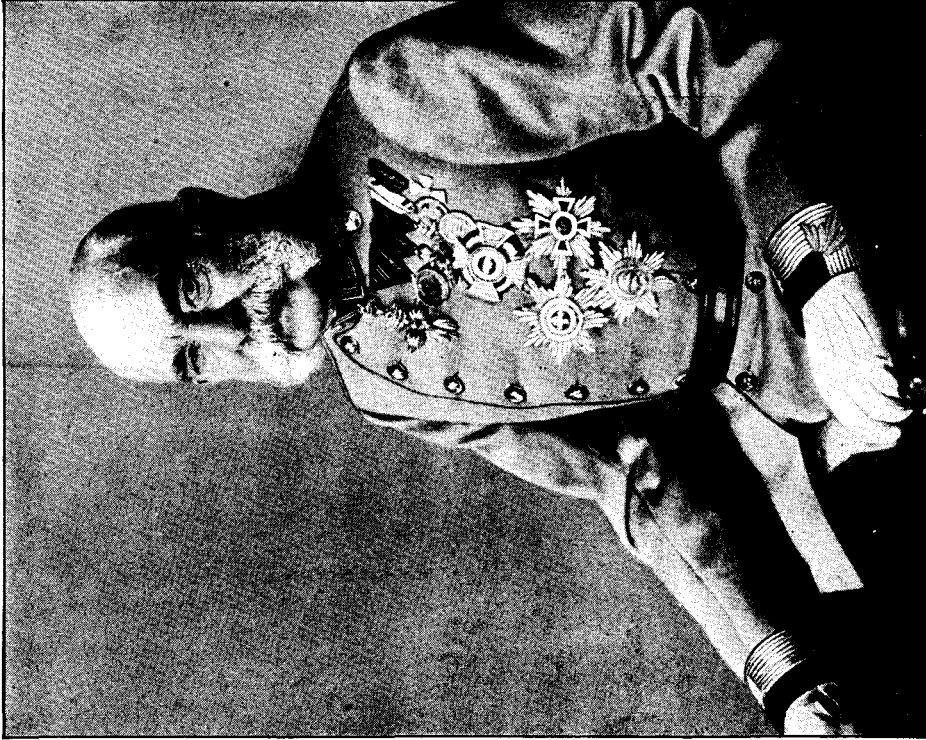
ITALY'S PREMIER, SIGNOR ANTONIO SALANDRA, WHOSE MINISTRY COMMITTED ITALY TO WAR

Signor Salandra has had the Italian people back of him in his determination not to compromise with Austria. More than to any other one man, perhaps, the entry of Italy into the great struggle is due to her Premier, whose recent resignation offered to the King was refused. This triumph of the war party precipitated the present crisis



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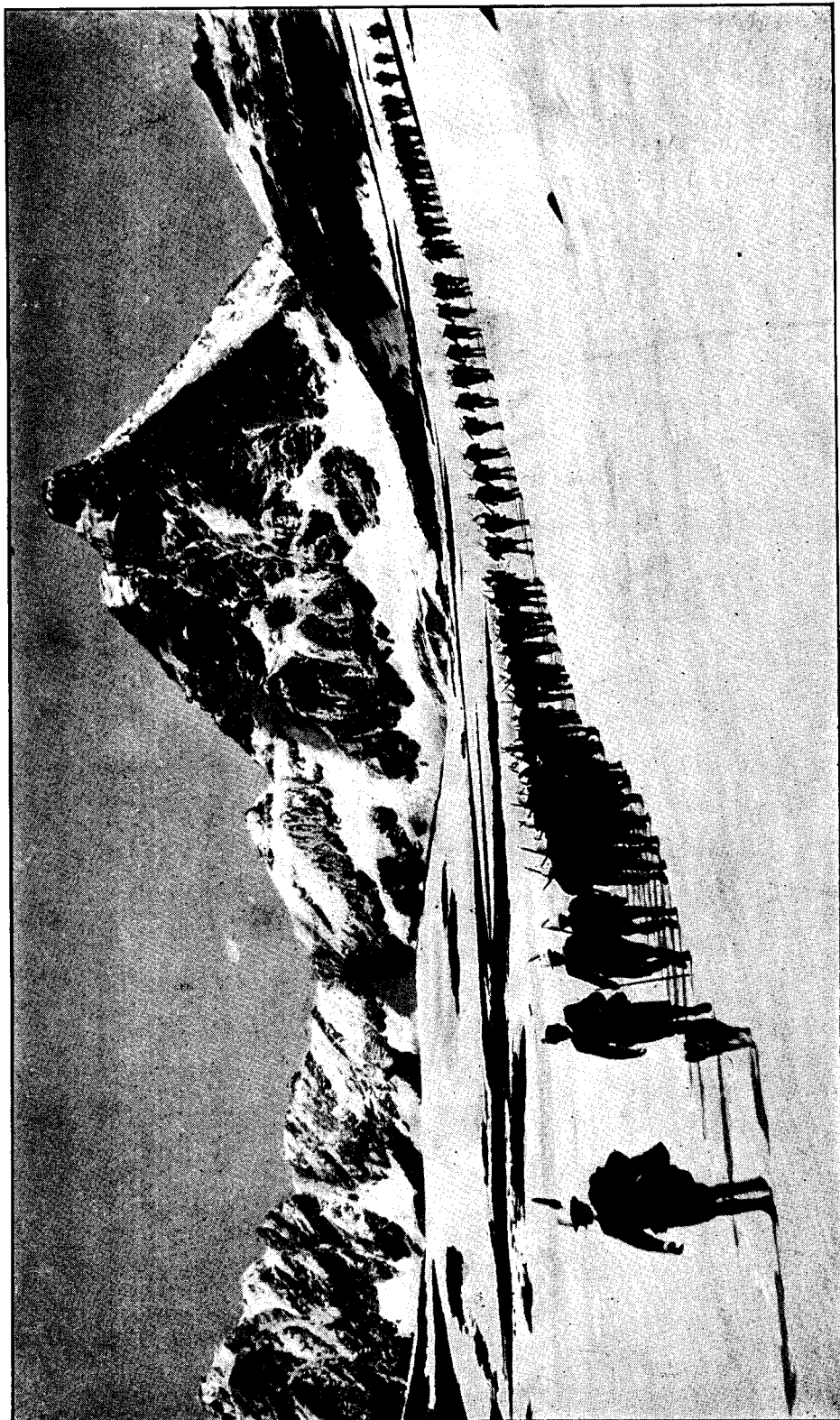
VICTOR EMMANUEL III, KING OF ITALY
Victor Emmanuel is now 46 years of age. He became King in 1900, on the death of his father, Humbert I, who was killed by an Anarchist



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FRANCIS JOSEPH, EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA
Francis Joseph is the oldest reigning sovereign of Europe. He was born in 1830, and began his reign as Emperor of Austria in 1848; in 1867 he was crowned King of Hungary

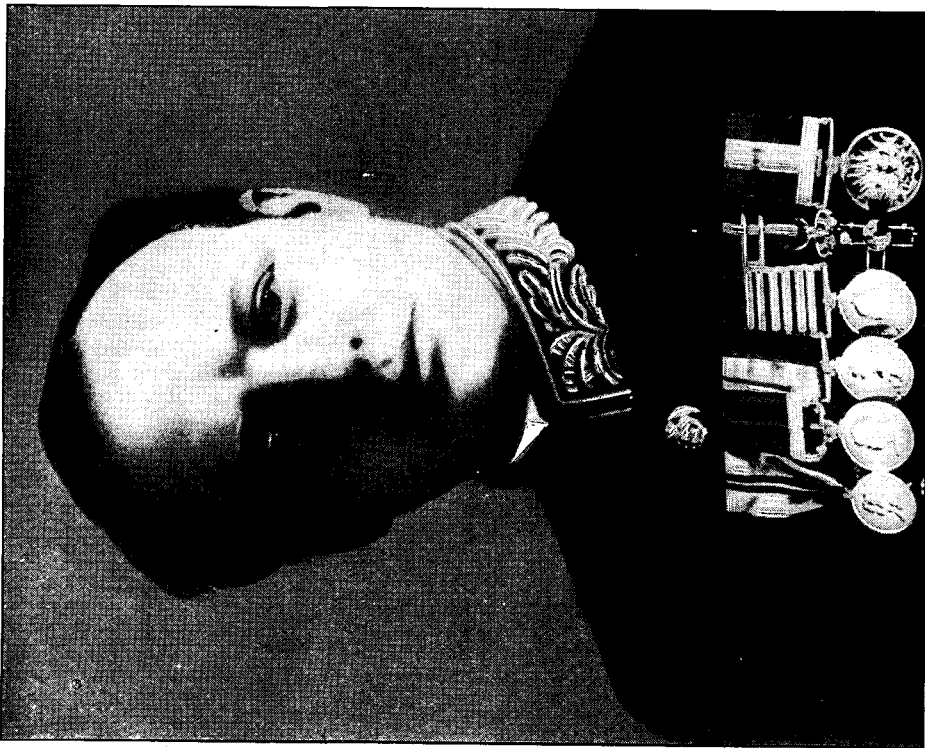
THE NEW ANTAGONISTS IN THE GREAT EUROPEAN STRUGGLE



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

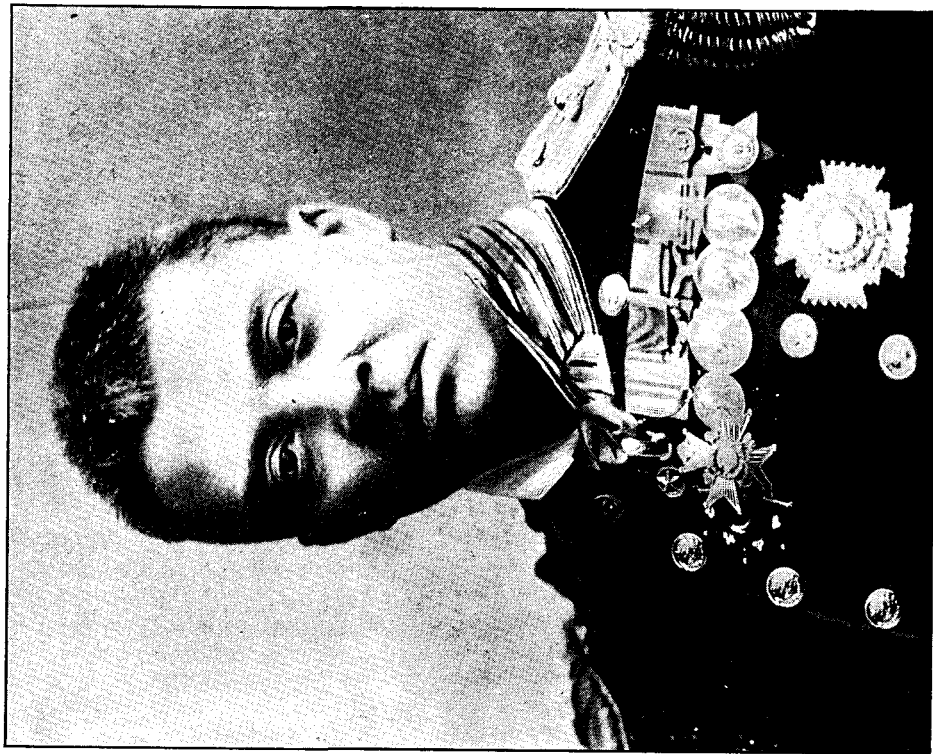
ITALIAN TROOPS CROSSING THE ALPS

This striking picture, it is almost unnecessary to say, was taken before Italy entered the war. The mountain in the background is the celebrated Matterhorn, on the boundary line between Italy and Switzerland



WINSTON CHURCHILL

Recently First Lord of the Admiralty

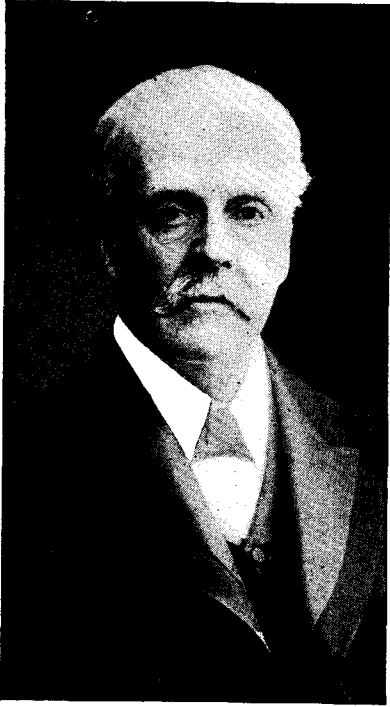


ADMIRAL FISHER

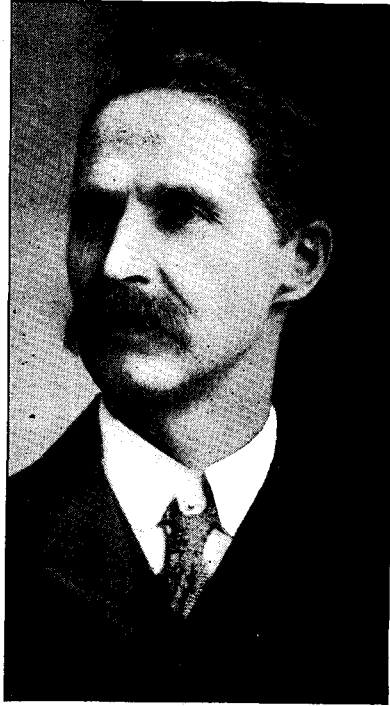
Until lately First Sea Lord of the Admiralty

ENGLAND'S NAVAL PROBLEM

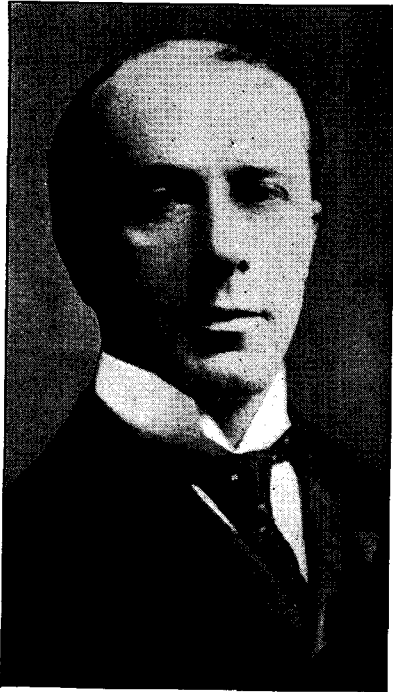
The recent resignation of Lord Fisher, following, it is understood, differences of opinion with Winston Churchill as to naval administration, and the appointment of Mr. Balfour to Mr. Churchill's place as head of the Admiralty, have opened to discussion large questions of policy and action. See the editorial on this matter, on the attack upon Lord Kitchener, and on changes in the Cabinet



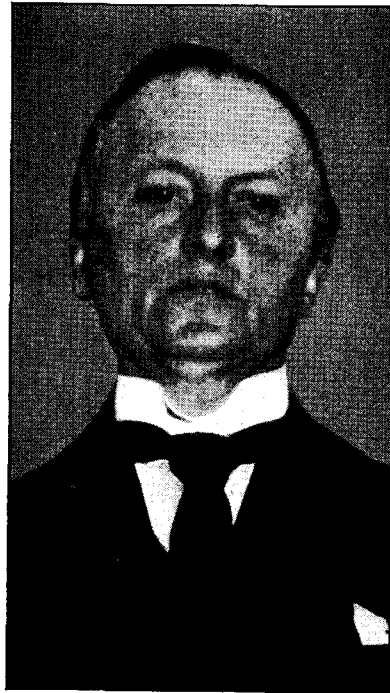
A. J. BALFOUR (UNIONIST)
First Lord of the Admiralty



A. BONAR LAW (UNIONIST)
Secretary for the Colonies



REGINALD MCKENNA (LIBERAL)
Chancellor of the Exchequer



EARL CURZON (UNIONIST)
Lord of the Privy Seal

FOUR MEMBERS OF THE NEW COALITION CABINET OF
GREAT BRITAIN

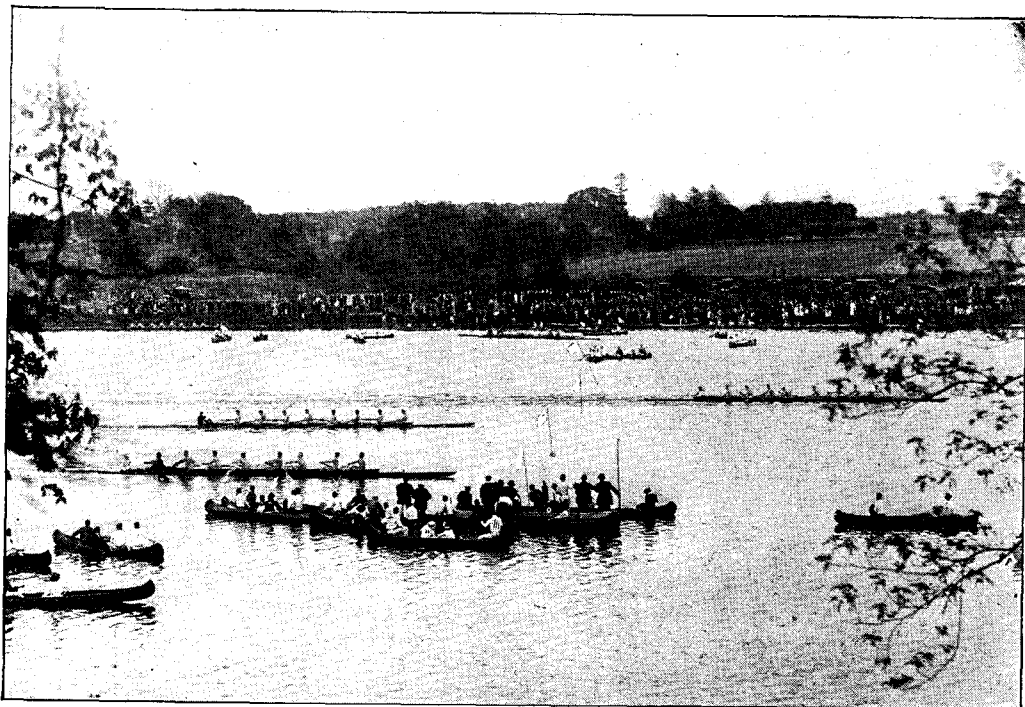
See editorial pages for comment



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A PHENOMENAL LAWN TENNIS PLAYER FROM NORWAY

Miss Molla Bjurstedt, whose picture shown above was taken at Forest Hills, Long Island, has had an almost uninterrupted series of triumphs in her contests in this country. She is a "hard" player, and her skill and activity have carried off the honors from the best American women players of lawn tennis. She is now the holder of the National indoor and Metropolitan singles championship



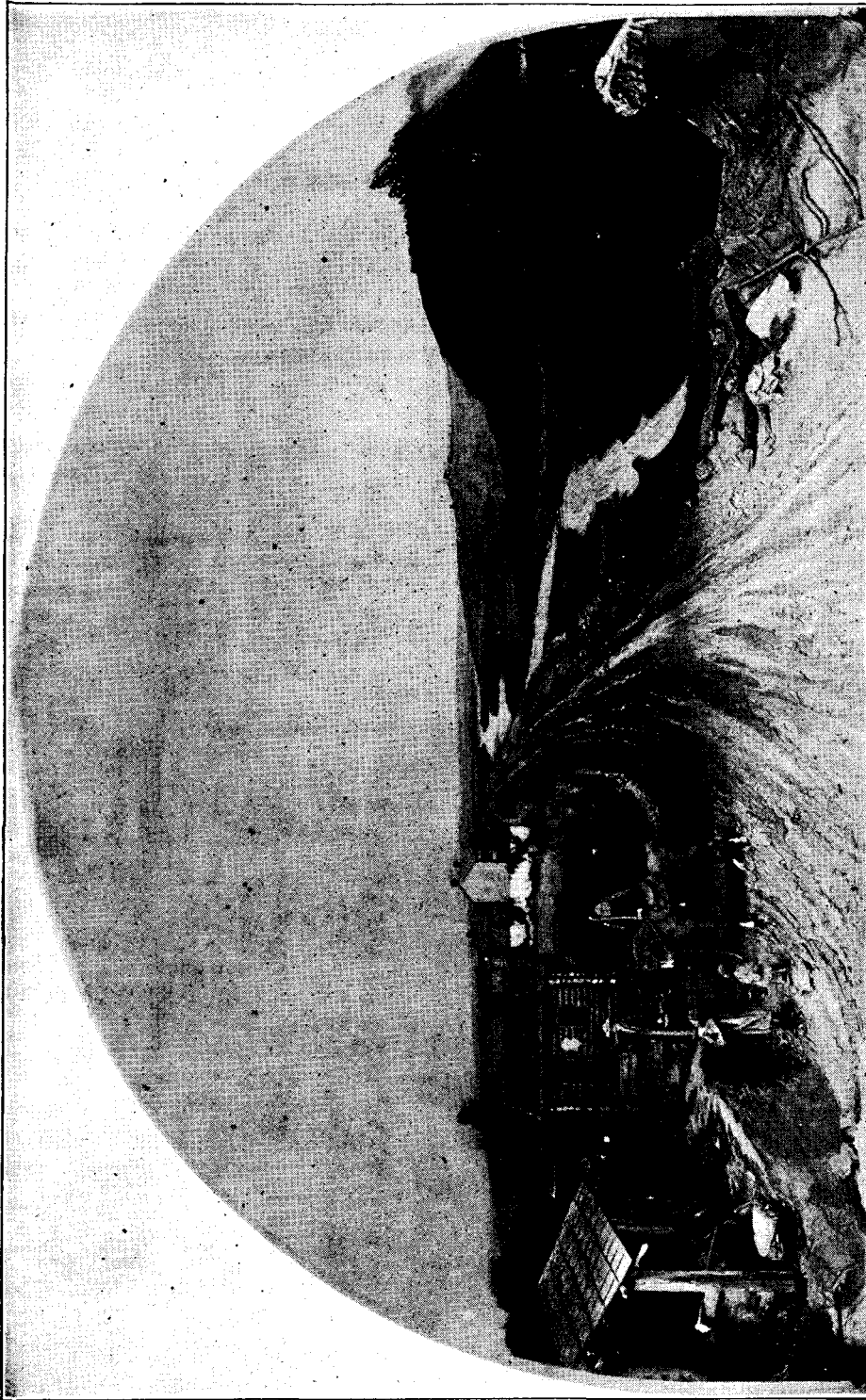
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PRINCETON WINNING THE CHILDS CUP, COLUMBIA SECOND, PENNSYLVANIA THIRD



PHOTOGRAPH BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

YALE WINNING AN EXCITING RACE FROM CORNELL, WITH PRINCETON THIRD
RECENT INTERCOLLEGIATE ROWING MATCHES ON CARNEGIE LAKE
AT PRINCETON



PHOTOGRAPH FROM PAUL THOMPSON

THE RED CROSS AT THE CROSSROADS

Just now the mention of Red Cross work brings the battlefield to mind, but it should not be forgotten that with this eminently useful organization "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," as the above picture demonstrates. It is a photograph of one of the Government exhibits in the Panama-Pacific Exposition at San Francisco, and depicts the relief work done by traveling nurses of the Red Cross among the poor of a squalid country district

ON THE TRAIL OF PROGRESS AND REACTION IN THE WEST

BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

FIFTH ARTICLE

LIGHT AHEAD IN COLORADO

I THINK it is not too much to say that the crude and primitive and selfish brutality which has for many years seemed to characterize the economic and political development of Colorado has worn a sinister and threatening aspect to the whole country. Recent events in the State, in the political administration of the Democratic Governor, Mr. Ammons, and in the Rockefeller administration of industry, have tended to confirm this estimate of Colorado. And the attempt last winter of the Republican majority in the Legislature to abolish the Juvenile Court which Judge Lindsey has created for the city of Denver and incidentally for the United States of America has seemed to give direct confirmation to the view, widely held in the East, that Colorado is not only economically brutal but socially unregenerate and politically depraved. I went to Colorado with something of that opinion. I now think it to be far from an exact statement of fact.

From Colorado to the coast has long been the rough economic frontier of the country. The better and the worse have always met on the frontier. And the worse easily slumps into the worst when the dominant industry is of the mill and mining type—workers of the sort who have never been thoroughly amenable to the more disciplining and refining influences of civilization, and ownership of the absentee variety represented on the ground by a harsh and bureaucratic management of labor. Under these circumstances it is not long before all the powerful property interests, like the public utilities—the gas, the telephone, the street railway corporations—of a city like Denver take the color of their political and social processes from the environment in which they grow up. But you also find the finest conscience and the greatest moral daring on the frontier. And if the two forces mingle in the great encounter under anything like fair conditions, in the long run in America the higher has always won over the lower.

I think we shall never understand States like Colorado and Montana and Washington

and California, except in terms of a gigantic struggle between the fierce exploitation and the fighting idealism of the frontier. The exploitative qualities of the big business leaders, the corrupt practice of the big politicians, and the violence and disorder of the labor element in Colorado have seemed to be edged with unusual cunning and selfishness. This is partly due, I think, to the irritations and failures which have accompanied the struggle for prosperity in Colorado. The city of Denver and the State generally have not had as normal a development as San Francisco and California, for example. There has been a debilitating depression growing out of the blow struck at the silver mining industry in Colorado by the international fall in price of that once precious metal. As compared with other Western cities, Denver has been poorly served with railways and has suffered from discriminating freight rates to an extent that has retarded normal growth. Denver gives you the impression of a city that has long been saying to herself that the former days were better than these. And it seems to me that these depressions and disappointments have helped to breed bitterness and rancor, and are to be taken into account when you fairly sum up the case. We must remember, too, that the goings-on in Colorado have had an appallingly keen and truth-speaking analyst and historian in Judge Lindsey. And yet, if you read Franklin Hichborn's recent volumes of interpretation of the struggle of California to break from Southern Pacific machine rule, there is the same record of violence and cunning, but with the touch of triumph of the good over the evil that yet is lacking in Colorado. California has been a wonderfully vital and prosperous State, and her people have leaped to the fight for freedom and progress.

However, the social and political blight in Colorado is traceable also to other causes than economic depression. The workers in the mining camps have frequently been badly led. The murder gang has sometimes operated side by side, if not in collusion, with the executive

committee. On the labor side the following is an example of the course of crime and politics: A wandering laborer happened into a district in northern Colorado which was on strike. He was looking for work, and did not know of the strike. The murder gang took him for a scab. They broke nearly every bone in his body and flung him down the hillside. It was impossible to come anywhere near apprehending the murderers, although the deed was comparatively open. The State Government just at that time was quietly lined up on the side of the unions; the State investigators filed a report exonerating the unions, but there was no attempt to find the murderers. Here you have extreme brutality, growing out of bad leadership and long-standing grievances, terrorizing a commonwealth.

Then we have the other side of this horrible class struggle. Judge Lindsey has made this familiar to the country through his photograph of the Beast in the Jungle. Cunning property bureaucrats, entrenched behind a controlled press and pliant courts and suppliant legislators and corrupt political machines and clever legal practitioners—a gigantic bulwark of potential tyranny and corruption—these are the main lines in the pen-picture drawn by Judge Lindsey. Ludlow and private mine guards enrolled in the militia, and ruthlessness and arrogance and the charred bones of women and children—a recent instance.

Little one-hundred-pound Judge Lindsey and the men who have stood with him have furnished the leadership of moral daring and fighting idealism in Colorado. They have been ruthless, too. I think they had to be. The full-length portraits of some of Denver's and Colorado's mighty ones that have been painted for posterity in the story of the Beast and the Jungle will not lose their color even to the eye of children's children.

The survivors of Lindsey's analysis and indignation are still wriggling in Colorado as if they were on a hot shovel, and the shovel does not seem to grow any cooler with time. Unquestionably some of them have suffered vicariously for their kind in other commonwealths where no Lindsey dwelt. And we are all hoping for the day when the violent personal element in public conflict which has so frequently characterized the politics of the United States will be eliminated. But we have been passing through an era when the few prophets whom the people have really had in their service have been justified, like

Nathan, in looking the king squarely in the eye with the declaration, "Thou art the man!"

The story of Lindsey in Colorado is an enlightening chapter in the study of mental and moral traits. Lindsey at first happened accidentally upon some little grafters—county commissioners who bought record books worth \$6 and charged them up to the county at \$180 apiece—and everybody applauded; and the Chamber of Commerce gave the patriot Lindsey a luncheon of honor. And then the patriot worked in deeper. He learned that these county commissioners appointed judges of elections, some of whom were notorious crooks, solely for the final benefit of men of power in the financial and political world. He learned that these poor tools of commissioners raised and lowered assessments, "equalized" and rebated taxes, for the final benefit of the gas and telephone and traction and mining corporations of the city of Denver. He was close on the trail of that elusive individual, the man higher up, and the scent led unmistakably to the doors of some of the great business offices of Colorado. Men of great prominence were saved from prison only in the court of last resort, and it was a frightful awakening. Colorado rocked from center to circumference. The Chamber of Commerce met, not to do Lindsey honor, but to brand him as an enemy of the State.

The feeling against Lindsey touched bottom in 1914. Although the Judge came to his present term with a very large majority—he has been elected or appointed to the office he holds nine times in twelve years—I suppose that last fall he could not have been chosen as dog-catcher in Fort Collins! Such is sometimes the reactionary course of sentiment in a democracy. Men who perform the Lindsey kind of service are frequently compelled, through the neglect and apathy of the people themselves, to go down into the valley and shadow of political and social death. But the genuine fighters labor, and care not if the more cautious "safety-firsters" enter into their labors.

All of which looks pretty dark. And if the reactionaries had "got" Lindsey's Juvenile Court, as they recently tried to do through legislative act, very many people would have felt as if Colorado might as well throw up her hands. But they didn't get it. Do you remember how that humane institution came to be established? Lindsey was Judge of

the County Court in Denver, and had pronounced a little Italian boy guilty under the law and had sentenced him for stealing coal from along the railway track. The pathetic but unintelligible protestations of the boy's mother led him to investigate. He found that the boy was not bad at all, that his father was ill from lead-poisoning through working twelve hours a day in the smelter, that the parents and a baby were starving and freezing in a poor shack in the Italian quarter of North Denver, and that the boy had brought home the fuel to keep them warm. This experience was the inspiration of the probation system for young offenders, which has appealed to the good sense and the heart of the entire country. It has been one of the influences that have led us to examine our whole penal system, with a view to determining whether it is merely stupid and mechanical, or, perhaps more than that, a graduate school in crime and immorality.

The chief contribution so far made by Colorado to the Nation is the idea of the Juvenile Court. Not all the brutal power in America is able to turn that reform back. In 1914 Lindsey's Court in Denver cost twenty thousand dollars to administer, and dealt with the difficulties and sorrows of about a thousand parents and children. In the same year the District Court of Denver, which handles mostly cases which have to do with property, cost the State and the city two hundred thousand dollars and dealt with fewer than two thousand cases. Property right is precious, but it is not yet—even in Colorado—the god and ruler of the souls of men. Reaction did not "get" the Juvenile Court. The base attempt of a reactionary Republican Legislature met the eager veto of the new Republican Governor, Mr. Carlson, who represents the wiser element of his party and the better spirit of the people of his State.

And it is right here that the light begins to break. In a time Nationally somewhat favorable to the designs of men who wish to go back into darkness, there are forces gathering, even in Colorado, which fix the limits of reaction with a "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The general economic condition of the State is steadily improving. There does not seem to be any immediate prospect of the price of silver rising far enough above fifty cents an ounce to make the mining of it particularly profitable, but the soil and the sunshine are the most valuable possessions of Colorado. The later methods of

agriculture, the wheat, the sugar beets, the sheep and the hogs, the Moffatt road opening up a rich new range and farming district which will help Denver—every year Colorado will come more surely into her own. And the light will break in proportion as the dominant political control passes out of the hands of the mining and the public utility corporations and into the hands of stable agriculture. It is the prosperous and independent farmer who has made the West the heart of National comfort and democracy.

But there are other streaks of dawn upon the horizon right now. Ludlow has taught the corporation bureaucracy of Colorado a first lesson. The mining camps will never again be the same centers of cold and cynical materialism. The cost is too great. There is a better and a more profitable way. A firm and kindly human handling of workers beats the machine gun in dealing with labor in the long run. A sheriff's posse "tanked up" with liquor and firing upon defenseless women and children has no standing even with Indians. They would rather die than surrender. But General Hugh Scott, armed only with the Indians' faith that he has courage and is on the square, can lead their criminals away to justice. So Colorado operators have learned that they are not free of responsibility to the claims of humanity when they have exchanged native for alien labor. The newer workers just as instinctively resent what they regard as injustice, just as instinctively seek to co-operate against it, just as instinctively appreciate human handling, as the older ones.

There have been several changes for the better within the Rockefeller mines in Colorado; among others, the men are allowed to organize and elect their own representatives to discuss with the operators matters involving wages and conditions of labor within the industry. To be sure, the operators have imposed a limit that must sooner or later be broken down—the union within the works may not connect itself with any National outside group. The reason which the managers give for this is that arrogant outside interference on the part of bad labor leaders has been a contributing cause to much unrest and disorder. On the other hand, mere local representatives, not buoyed up by the help of outside comrades and in fear of losing their jobs if they protest too much, are apt to be in the long run of the subservient type, not fitted for free bargaining with powerful employers. It is to be

remembered also that industrial democracy is growing more and more National, indeed international, in its co-operation, and the experiment of a local union at the Rockefeller mines is pretty certain to be more or less temporary. But the fact that both sides are willing to try it indicates an attitude of mind more human and more favorable to industrial peace than before the Ludlow tragedy.

In Colorado you may look at the antagonisms of capital and labor in the raw, so to speak. And we shall never get anywhere if we regard the labor-unionists or the Rockefellers as mere brutes or criminals. The Rockefellers, for example, are nothing of the kind. Whatever has been done by their representatives in varied fields which is contrary to the public welfare—and there has been much—I have not the least doubt that both the elder and the younger Rockefeller are sincerely desirous of doing the right thing according to their light, and if they could find out what the right thing really is. The father was brought up in the harsher school of business as a species of war; but the son is exactly what he showed himself to be on the witness-stand before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations—an earnest, conscientious, intelligent young man, who knows about as much of what is going on in parts of his vast industrial domain as the Czar of Russia knows about the kind of food served in Siberian prisons. This is an indictment of the system more than it is of the man. Of course, where the lives and happiness of men and women and little children are at stake it is his duty to know—but he would not live long under the strain! And so in the Colorado-Rockefeller troubles it is necessary to differentiate between a powerful element of the bureaucracy on the ground, who are brutal and unfeeling and materialistic, who would quit the job in a minute if the Rockefellers pressed them too far, and who refuse to obey even the simplest laws in the interest of labor which the State sets up—they admitted on the witness-stand that they had not obeyed them—and the Rockefellers themselves, hedged about by industrial divinity until the outburst comes.

There are active signs that the moral sense of responsibility of the Rockefellers in Colorado has been quickened by knowledge. In the evidence before the Industrial Relations Commission recently appears a notably frank letter from the personal representative of the Rockefellers on the Board of the Colorado

Fuel and Iron Company. It was sent to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and is in part as follows: "When I came here, it was said that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company voted every man and woman in its employ, without any regard to their being naturalized or not, and even its mules, it used to be remarked, were registered if they were fortunate enough to possess names. Anyhow, the political department was maintained at a heavy expense. . . . The decent newspapers everlastingly lampooned the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at every election, and I am forced to say that the company merited, from a moral standpoint, every shot that was fired into their camp."

The political campaign for the Governorship last summer and fall is worth commenting upon. The choice of Governor in most of our commonwealths is coming to reflect the state of the public mind better than the election of any other official. The people seem to get their eye on the Executive and to assume more or less responsibility for him. There is an impression in the country, which is not so far astray, that, of recent Governors in Colorado, Peabody leaned too far backward toward the reactionary forces in the State, that Waite of "bloody bridles" fame leaned too far forward towards the wishes of the reckless radicals, that Shafroth leaned towards safety first, and that Ammons, who held office during the Ludlow upheaval, had, to the eye of the public at least, no spinal column at all—could not lean anywhere—and so lay down on his job. Privately he knew the real inwardness of the situation, and tried to let in the light at the conferences with the Federal Government in Washington, but without avail. It looked as if it were a case of after Ammons the deluge, and the citizenship of Colorado last summer had its mind settled to an unusual degree upon the paramount necessity of law and order as the foundation of any government worthy the name. Ammons was a Democrat; it was evident that a Republican would be elected, and everything was ripe for a dyed-in-the-wool Colorado Fuel and Iron candidate to succeed. I am pretty sure that a majority of the inside group of the Rockefeller bureaucracy had their eyes on another man who was safe and certain from their point of view of what a Governor is for. But I am also convinced that the particular representative of the Rockefellers on the ground just then had clearer political vision, and was for

Carlson, of Fort Collins, who was nominated. I am also convinced that it was a case of genuine judgment of what was best for the State, and that the time had come when what is best for Colorado as a whole is best for the mining industry. In this the Rockefellers are only beginning to follow the example of the Guggenheims, who have their eyes open to the unwisdom of tampering with popular government, have got rid of their political lawyers, and no longer enter into war pacts with the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company.

The candidate for Governor, Carlson, had much to recommend him to the electorate. He had been a fearless district attorney in Fort Collins during earlier labor troubles, had a law-and-order reputation, and had the insight and the conviction to line up with the dry side of the prohibition contest at the last election. Colorado went dry. This was due to Carlson, Billy Sunday, the better element of the Colorado Fuel and Iron, and the workers in some of the mining camps who decided that the saloon as a social institution had an unwholesome influence upon the family as an institution. Carlson was elected. And of course a lot of party rubbish of Republican reaction was washed into the Legislature with him.

Carlson is a firm, quiet, constructive man. He proceeded at once to get John R. Commons and other experts into conference upon workmen's compensation and an industrial commission for Colorado, and he put the law through. Which is, of course, precisely what Colorado needs most. That is the way to establish law and order. When, as the result of the old system of litigation between the weak and the strong, there are men in a community with both eyes out who have succeeded in getting a hundred dollars of damages, and other men with a leg or an arm off with twenty-five or fifty dollars of damages, and hundreds of men in the aggregate who are victims of lead-poisoning in the smelters and of other occupational diseases, while the burden of it falls with crushing force upon the women and the children, of course there is bad feeling, and of course it spreads through the State. And of course the whole system is wrong. Risks like these, inevitable as they are, should be a charge upon the industry, which means a charge upon society. And the State is beginning to see it. There is light ahead in Colorado.

What is needed is a leadership in power under the dome of the Capitol which is hon-

estly devoted to the welfare of the people of the State. As in some other commonwealths, a group of determined men on the outside have at times wrung much-needed relief from an arrogant and corrupt political system when its prestige seemed for the moment impaired, and have succeeded in getting a wealth of good legislation upon the statute-books. And afterwards some of the best of the laws have lain impotent because the machinery of enforcement has been in the hands of the enemies of the public welfare. This has been especially true of labor and corporation legislation in Colorado. Such government is neither of laws nor of men. And it begets violence and revolution.

The recent conviction and sentence of the labor leader Lawson is an event which has disturbing consequences wrapped up in it. The authorities of Colorado cannot go too far in the direction of law and order and impartial justice, but they must make no distinction between the world of labor and the world of capital. It has hitherto been practically impossible in Colorado to fix the responsibility for wrong upon the man at the top in the corporation or in the labor union. The people of the State and the country must not be led to assume that it is now easy to reach the man higher up in the labor world, whether he is justly responsible or not, and not easy to reach the man higher up in the corporation, even though he is guilty. Colorado must be sure that exact justice is being done in the Lawson case, or else the fierce class struggle may break out anew.

The Carlson administration has the opportunity to become the center of an inside power group of great promise. The time is ripe for it. The Governor has the instincts of a plain, straightforward man who wants to do right. The subtle reactionaries reach many such men through flattery and through cleverly pointing the way to higher honors. If Governors like Brumbaugh in Pennsylvania and Carlson in Colorado will continue to remember that the path of service is the path to glory, the cause of the people will, in spite of the recent undertow of reaction, still be advanced in at least two of the important States of the American Union.

Colorado has her face toward the morning. The progressive elements in the State, without distinction of party name, deserve the respect and sympathy of the whole country. They have long been in a hard battle for democracy, and they are fighting it bravely.

THE INNER WORKINGS OF A DEPARTMENT STORE

I—THE VALUE OF WELFARE WORK

BY E. W. BLOOMINGDALE

(COUNSEL TO THE RETAIL DRY GOODS ASSOCIATION OF NEW YORK)

TO many who visit the department store it is merely an extensive establishment with a large display of merchandise in endless variety—a place of “special sales,” of “marked-down” prices.

They know, and give as little consideration to, the inner workings of the enterprise as the traveler on a railway does to round-houses or “feeder lines.” Excepting as it may influence the spirit of contentment and enthusiasm of those employees with whom the customer is brought into contact, the public is concerned as little about the real sources of inspiration of the working force as it is about the accounting system of the store. And by the real sources of inspiration is meant the now highly developed welfare system, which had its beginning years ago through the initiative of employers, and which has been carried on with the directness and completeness of a well-organized movement.

Those who are able to recall conditions which existed a quarter of a century ago will readily agree that much has been accomplished in relieving the monotony of the working day of the employees in the large department stores; for while in the various stages of welfare work the proprietors have proceeded cautiously, in the full realization that nothing of permanent value could be effected in too great a hurry, they have worked conscientiously, each pursuing his ideal according to the material at hand and his own understanding of what really constituted welfare work.

Up to the present time managers have worked independently. They have not been greatly concerned with the methods of their trade competitors, but they have brought about a wonderful change in department stores, as may be seen by a glance at some of the more important phases of welfare development in New York City. For example:

In nearly every modern department store there is now a well-established emergency hospital in charge of physicians and nurses. These hospitals are equipped with the latest

appliances, and the physicians and nurses are thoroughly competent in every respect. Treatment does not stop here, however, for the work goes on, and in many instances carries a nurse into the home, where the real difficulty often lies. An employee will sometimes disclose not only a personal ailment but a domestic worry to a nurse or physician, and the bond which is thus created in this department of welfare work cannot be fully estimated.

In some stores arrangements are made for free consultation with opticians, dentists, and chiropodists, the idea being that employees may be helped to become as physically fit as medical advice can accomplish. In many of the stores there are from four to six beds, and an indisposed girl may spend an entire day in repose or for recuperation, which would involve the loss of a day's wages if she were to remain at home. There has never seemed any disposition on the part of the employees to take undue advantage of this privilege.

Lunch-rooms are universal, the general plan being to provide hot dishes and good, wholesome food at a price within the reach of all. In most cases no canned goods will be used, and the employees have the advantage of the same food which is prepared for customers, at about one-fourth the price. In many establishments, too, the plan is that of the cafeteria, in which the employees choose a complete luncheon from the steam tables in the rotation of soups, hot meats, vegetables, desserts. The plan works admirably and tends to quick service. Employees are at liberty to spend as much of their lunch time as possible in the open air.

While it is not possible for all the stores in New York City to have roof gardens, several of them have adopted this plan as the one most desirable for recreation and rest in the summer months. In some of the newer buildings the arrangements are little short of marvelous, and during the midday rest period groups of girls and young women may be seen resting in hammocks and rocking-chairs, reading and embroidering. These roof gar-

dens are supplied with small tables for literature, in addition to the well-stocked circulating library in connection with the rest-rooms, and in some instances swings and victrolas with a good repertoire for dancing are also provided.

Large space is occupied by two most important items of welfare work, to wit, the modern lockers and wash-rooms. In a store employing four thousand persons the installation of the individual locker is an exceedingly liberal devotion of valuable space to the convenience of the employee. The ventilation of the locker, the attempt to make it as attractive and useful as possible, and the care which the house takes in its maintenance, as, for instance, in case of a misplaced garment belonging to an employee, are well worthy of some consideration by those who are interested in this subject. On the ends of these huge lockers are mirrors, and in some cases a special umbrella-holder is to be found in the side of each locker. It is the policy of the large stores to give to the locker such location as will work the least hardship on the employee in going to and from the post of employment.

The wash-rooms and toilet facilities are matters of great concern to the managers of the large stores. Perhaps the newest plan in connection with the supply of towels is an arrangement by which the individual towel is fastened to an upright rod which curves at the top. When the towel has been used it drops into a receptacle, still attached by the small hook, and the next girl has a clean towel ready at hand.

A small army of women is employed in these larger stores as cleaners for the wash-rooms and toilets of the employees, and the untidy girl is taught that cleanliness is a desideratum and that carelessness and untidiness are not permissible in any degree.

A great deal is heard now and again as to the interdiction which forbids girls and women to use the seats which are provided by all the stores. This complaint revolves primarily around the fact that no customer will tolerate for a moment being waited upon by a girl who remains seated. It is the rule in all stores to permit employees to be seated excepting when actually employed. The number for whom seats are provided varies with the different stores, but in none is there less than one seat to three employees.

Elevators are available in all stores; some having them for the exclusive service of employees, while others permit the use of ele-

vators which are provided for customers. In some instances escalators have been installed, and the mechanism so arranged that employees may be carried down as well as up.

Books and games, instruction in English and dancing, embroidery and plain sewing, and separate club-rooms are a few of the considerations which are shown to the girl or boy in the department stores to-day. Where they are employed in large numbers, there are morning and afternoon recesses of from fifteen to twenty minutes, during which time they may be found in the recreation-rooms and on the roof gardens, dancing and playing games.

A more recent development are classes of instruction in salesmanship, deportment, suitable business dress, and manners, while the still more recent subject of vocational training is at this moment being developed by expert educators under the auspices of the Board of Education. In order to maintain the business atmosphere, these classes are held within the several establishments during business hours, the time of the employee and the space for class-rooms being contributed by the firm.

It was left for a New York department store, at its own expense, to carry to the court of last resort a litigation which made the business of the loan shark precarious as to profits as well as personally dangerous, as is evidenced by the sentence to the penitentiary a few months ago of the "King of the Loan Sharks," who offered half a million dollars for a pardon.

It is not possible in an article of this length to enlarge upon the attention given to such things as ventilation, sanitation, and fire protection, drinking water, light, draughts, and other matters which equally concern the public and the working force of the store.

But the Retail Dry Goods Association, consisting of the principal firms in New York City, has felt for some time that on many things a uniform standard might be established and better results accomplished by co-operation. Although so much has been done, there are still problems which need systematizing, and it is believed that a central committee to study the many questions which are at present handled in a variety of ways would more easily bring about a condition satisfactory to those concerned. Before such a committee makes its report the best expert advice will be sought and methods will be adopted which will insure the closer

bringing together of mutual interests. An executive secretary will be chosen, whose entire time will be devoted to the subject. The merchants of New York City believe that their investment in welfare work, not as a philanthropy, but as a business project,

has paid. If the public has not been made acquainted with these activities, it is because of the thought that their publication would be regarded as an advertisement and their proprietors suspected of being actuated by unworthy motives.

II—ANOTHER VIEW

BY JOSEPHINE GOLDMARK

OF THE NATIONAL CONSUMERS' LEAGUE

ANY reader of Mr. Bloomingdale's article on "The Inner Workings of a Department Store" must feel that the millennium has itself arrived, and that we are living in its very midst. The picture he draws is lively, interesting, refreshing. But the discriminating reader involuntarily exclaims: Is it true?

No observing persons can deny, if they would, the great advances which have been made during the past quarter-century, as Mr. Bloomingdale asserts, in relieving "the monotony of the working day of the employees in the large department stores" and in improving the physical surroundings under which thousands of young women are employed during their most impressionable years.

No one could imagine more beautiful installations than some of those he describes in our best department stores, where enlightened managers have provided rest-rooms at the tops of their high buildings, glass inclosed, with comfortable rocking-chairs, appetizing lunch-rooms, and other arrangements for pleasure and relaxation during the noon recess; the gymnasium, the good food given at cost, the hospital rooms with free medical consultation and treatment—all these things are true. No body of persons can more genuinely or legitimately rejoice in these achievements than the Consumers' League, whose work on behalf of working women and children in New York first became conspicuous in connection with the revelations of the Rheinhardt Commission of 1896, since when, as Mr. Bloomingdale truthfully remarks, "those who are able to recall conditions which existed . . . will readily agree that much has been accomplished."

Yet, in spite of these marks of progress, Mr. Bloomingdale's statement is fundamentally misleading, because it is a half-truth, often more obscuring to truth than misstatement itself. This is because, in the first

place, he describes certain isolated and prominent examples, not only as though they were the rule, but as though few if any establishments fell below the rule. In a word, he generalizes from exceptions. He omits mention of what is, in fact, the general or average practice.

If, for instance, the still existing evils were to be enumerated side by side with Mr. Bloomingdale's panegyrics, we must consider, in contrast to the ventilated lockers in the exceptional establishments, the ill-ventilated basements and sub-basements of many others, where hundreds of girls are employed in stifling atmospheres. Most shoppers avoid or make as short a stay as possible in the basements of many stores, finding the atmosphere too oppressive, especially in summer or at the crowded holiday season. The ventilation of basements is admittedly a difficult and expensive engineering problem. But its possibilities have not been drawn on. Last summer, for instance, in one large store fresh air was successfully pumped to the basement soda fountain, where customers congregate in hot weather. But it was not distributed to the rest of the basement, where many girls spent the whole day in prostrating heat.

Aside from specific ills, of which this is a single example, existing in various establishments, the really important point to emphasize is this: More fundamental than the welfare features held up as the "real sources of inspiration of the working force" are the two basic factors of industrial employment, wages and hours of employment. Where wages are too low and hours of labor too long, the welfare features can never be inspiring. They may even be obstacles to true advance. How far is this true of department stores?

It must be recognized at the outset that work in a department store, easy as it appears at slack periods, is at busy times difficult

and taxing. Let any person who has not the opportunity of investigation read the careful description of the New York Factory Investigating Commission in their Second Report, published in 1912. The work is hard, because it means physical and mental effort. It involves long hours of standing, not only at the rushed Christmas season, but on the many occasions when special bargains are offered. It involves minute clerical work, such as entering sales in various ways and giving correct change, sometimes at every purchase, often at great speed, with a string of prospective waiting purchasers, each demanding attention. Other strains attend the work of those who are employed back of the scenes, in the packing, shipping, delivery, and auditing departments.

Now it is of striking interest to learn that up to the year 1913 the great commercial State of New York offered *no legislative protection* whatsoever governing the hours of labor of adult women employed in department stores, although such a law had been enacted thirty years earlier, in 1883, by the neighboring State of Massachusetts. It is true that many enlightened merchants, members of the Retail Dry Goods Association, shortened the hours of labor voluntarily long before the Fifty-four Hour Law was passed. But laws are needed precisely for those employers who are not enlightened, so that they may be prevented from competing unfairly through the exploitation of their workers.

Even more striking it is to know, in connection with the article under discussion, that the same Association which now holds up for public appreciation its welfare features was for more than fifteen years practically the sole obstacle to the enactment of legislation universally recognized as reasonable for women and girls employed in stores. Year after year representatives of the New York Retail Dry Goods Association at Albany opposed all efforts to secure for workers in mercantile establishments the same limitation of hours as that protecting women in factories, on the ground that they would not tolerate any legislative interference with their business.

Thus, for instance, some years ago the writer heard a prominent member of the Association, a most flagrant offender in employing girls overtime at night, expressing his indignation before a legislative committee that the law or any "outside agency" should attempt to interfere with his management of

"a family of 3,000 workers all under one roof." The political power of the associated merchants was great enough to defeat all legislation limiting hours of labor of women in stores up to the year 1913, and not until 1914 was an enforceable law for New York City enacted. Moreover, it still remains true that New York is one of the few great commercial States which, owing to the insistence of the merchants, expressly withdraw the protection of the law during six days preceding Christmas. In December, 1914, after twenty years of agitation and publicity, according to the careful observations of the New York City Consumers' League, eleven large department stores remained open after 6 P.M.: seven remained open until 10 P.M. or 10:30; two until 11:30 P.M. Where the closing hour was latest no extra pay was given the employees nor any time off during the day.

So long as these hardships as to long hours persist, stress upon welfare features as the "real sources of inspiration of the working force" is doubly injurious, because it obscures the true remedy.

The injury is even greater in connection with the *wages* of department-store workers. The forthcoming Fourth Report of the New York Factory Investigating Commission contains detailed study of 56,000 male and female employees of stores in New York City. In the case of each establishment the statistics were submitted to the respective employers for confirmation. Without attempting here to review the remarkable and convincing array of figures set forth, it suffices, in connection with welfare work, to bring out a few salient points.

The wages are proved to be extraordinarily low, even after many years of employment. Thus the Commission shows that the typical female employee in the stores of New York, city and State, begins at a weekly wage of \$4.71, advances after two years of experience to \$6.30, and is raised to \$8.06 at the end of four years. After being employed twenty-five years in the trade, the median wage, representing the typical woman employee of this group, reaches \$14 per week.

Taking department stores alone in New York City, including the great establishments paying the highest wages, the Commission shows that of nearly 13,000 girls and women employed in sales and stock departments, one-half receive less than \$8 per week; of 4,700 girls and women employed in office

departments, 55 per cent receive less than \$7.50 per week; of 1,100 employed otherwise on the premises (chiefly as waitresses and scrubwomen), over one-third receive less than \$5.50 per week; four-fifths receive less than \$7.50.

And this in a great industry in which the Commission states that "a live firm expects to turn its stock five or six times annually." For further details covering many allied subjects of absorbing interest, such as the differences between rates of pay and actual earnings per week, wages and age, wages and experience, the reader must be referred to the report itself.

It is true that department-store managers seek to employ only women living at home, on the ground that they are the steadier and preferable workers. The public fallacy has persisted that women living at home are thereby relieved of the necessity of earning a living wage. But every investigation made since the Federal Government led the way in 1910 has shown that the overwhelming majority of women who live at home must either contribute substantially to the family income or are themselves the sole or main wage-earners in the family group. No more arresting fact than this, or more new to current opinion, has emerged from all the voluminous investigations of the last five years concerning women in industry, and no fact has been more universally confirmed. Depart-

ment stores which pay less than a living wage to those whom they employ are subsidized in some way. They receive the services of persons who are either supported by some other industry or who make both ends meet by unjustifiable sacrifices of health and vitality.

No welfare features, however desirable, can undo the essential injustice of these inadequate wages, an injustice which embraces not only the individual worker giving more than she receives to a great industry, but the community itself, which in the end must foot the bills of the underpaying employers.

Before the retail merchants of New York hold up for public applause such mere commonplaces of efficiency as clean toilets and wash-rooms and elevators, or even the exceptional advantages furnished by some of their members, attention is challenged by the basic need underlying the welfare of their employees: the amount of their earnings.

If indeed welfare work pays, as Mr. Bloomingdale says and experience proves, "not as a philanthropy, but as a business project," there should be no conflict between these things. To-day, in stores where the welfare provisions are best, the wages of the employees are highest and the hours shortest. In other stores the provisions which may be made for the comfort of employees should not be allowed to hide or palliate the night work required and the inordinately low range of wages paid.

THE NEW BOOKS

Bulgaria and Her People. By Will S. Monroe.
The Page Company, Boston. \$3.

When we read that the Bulgarians spend twice as much per inhabitant on elementary education as do the Servians, two and a half times as much as the Greeks, and three times as much as the Montenegrins, our opinion of Bulgarian civilization is heightened. In the present volume Mr. Monroe tells us a great deal about it. As he was in Bulgaria at the time of the second Balkan war, it may be natural that he should adopt an extreme pro-Bulgarian view. Yet few critics, we believe, will go so far as he does in giving one to understand that Bulgaria was betrayed by her treacherous allies; it is generally believed that Bulgaria did some of the betraying. Again, Mr. Monroe rejects most of the charges of atrocities made against Bulgarian soldiers and emphasizes those committed by the Servians and Greeks. He is on safer ground

in calling special attention to the methods of denationalizing employed in Macedonia by the Servians and Greeks against the Bulgars. He is on absolutely safe ground in accentuating Robert College in Constantinople as the chief factor in the making of Bulgaria. He particularly eulogizes the work at that College of Dr. Hamlin and Dr. Washburn. Very many years before the dawn of Bulgarian independence young Bulgars fitted themselves at Robert College to be leaders of their people out of the bondage of serfdom into the freedom of self-government. The College is now furnishing men for hundreds of responsible and important positions in Bulgaria. Had it not been for the influence of this College, the Bulgarian nation would have been dominated more by Russians and less by American ideals. We are also glad for the author's testimony to the work for Bulgaria done by the American Institute at Sama-

kov, the secondary school for boys organized over half a century ago by the American Board of Foreign Missions. Many of the teachers connected with the native Protestant mission work have been educated in that school.

Everyman's Library. Twenty-one new volumes. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 35c. per vol.

It is always a pleasure to recognize the remarkable achievement of Everyman's Library under the editorship of Mr. Ernest Rhys. The Library now includes some seven hundred volumes. It has been said well and truly that the idea of Everyman's Library was a stroke of publishing genius: to make it possible for the average man to place in his home library his own selection of valuable works of English literature is indeed an achievement. The opportunity thus presented is not merely a question of price, although the price in itself is extraordinary when the appearance and manufacture of the books are considered; it is also the advantage to the ordinary maker of a small library in having a choice of books in small-volume form, so that his bookcases may not be overcrowded with the more elaborate editions, which are often quite unnecessarily large and cumbersome.

The new volumes which have lately reached us cover, as usual, a wide range of literature and information. We will not give a complete list; but there are included such indispensable works as Froude's "Short Studies" (and we hope every reader who is not familiar with Froude's lectures on Luther and Erasmus will get this volume for those two things if not for others); Dowden's "Life of Browning;" Ibsen's "Brand;" while the volumes devoted to fiction include stories so widely removed in style and manner as Dostoevsky's "Poor Folk" and "The Gambler;" Harrison Ainsworth's "Windsor Castle" (one wonders if any one does read Ainsworth nowadays); and Michael Scott's "Tom Cringle's Log" (first published, if we remember rightly, in the old "Blackwood's Magazine," and still one of the best tales of sea adventure and fun ever written).

Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals.

Edited and Supplemented by his Son, Edward Lind Morse. 2 vols. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$7.50.

The romance and pathos in the life of the inventor of the telegraph are vividly brought out in this large two-volume biography by his son, a work which is remarkably free from the defects characteristic of biographies written "in the family." The son does not gloss over the traits which helped increase the difficulties of his father's career; but he insists, and most readers will agree with him, that the latter's virtues far outweighed his defects. Naturally he deals in detail, and in a laudably filial spirit, with the bitter controversies that raged about Morse's claim as the deviser of the new

mode of communication which the establishment of the telegraph brought into existence. And, again, most readers will feel that his defense of his father is adequate and convincing. But, apart altogether from his interesting account of the inception and early development of the telegraph, his book is noteworthy for the emphasis it lays on that aspect of S. F. B. Morse's life of which most people know nothing—his work, not as an inventor, but as an artist. Morse was past forty when he gave the telegraph to the world, and until then he had been known solely, and most favorably, as a painter. The entire first volume is given up to this side of his career, covering his experiences in London as a pupil under the famous Allston, his travels in Europe, and his work at home. Fascinating glimpses of the London and New York of a hundred years ago are afforded by the extracts printed from Morse's own letters and journals, and valuable additions are made to the history of early American painting. In short, the book as a whole has abundant right to recognition as a really important contribution to biographical literature.

Well-Considered Garden, The. By Mrs. Francis King. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$2.

This book will give great pleasure to the amateur gardener—not as a handbook, but as a discussion of questions of taste, of the æsthetics of gardening, of such things as color harmony, choice of flowers and borders to suit arrangements, practical methods of getting broad and beautiful effects, the art of making a garden a part of the landscape and a part of the home. The author, as the Introduction by Gertrude Jekyll says, and as is evident from every chapter in the book, has practical knowledge, keen insight, and splendid enthusiasm. There are many photographs reproduced.

Finance in China. By Srinivas R. Wagel. North-China News and Herald, Ltd., Shanghai. \$10.

The subject of finance in China is not a particularly enlivening one to most readers. Nor will the stout volume just published by Mr. Wagel on that subject make it more vivacious. This is emphatically a volume for the serious student. Such a one, however, should find great interest in it, if for no other reason than because that product of what has been called "the most impracticable idealism," the Chinese Republic, is now confronted with some particularly thorny questions of finance. Day by day the difficulty of making Governmental income and expenditure meet has seemed to increase, and day by day the difficulty of obtaining foreign loans has also seemed to increase. The one thing necessary, of course, is a strong government in China. That is the only escape from the vicious circle of a government which had become weak on account of bad finance and of a finance which had become bad on account of a weak government. Passing over the his-

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torical part of the present volume, we come to the practical question: What are the Chinese going to do? No matter how much one must study progress in the past to suggest methods for the future, there must be great reforms in banking, currency, and general trade finance.

The extent of the necessary reforms may be gathered from Mr. Wagel's fourteen chapters, especially from the one on "Sources of Revenue." Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of that chapter is that which concerns the past revenue from opium. Seldom, if ever, has the history of any country disclosed a former great source of revenue which in consequence of an epoch-making social reform has now well-nigh entirely disappeared. At a time when Japan is making demands on the Chinese sources of revenue it is interesting to review them.

John Shaw Billings: A Memoir. By Fielding H. Garrison, M.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. \$2.50.

This volume has double value. It is equally notable as an account of experiences of a medical officer during the Civil War and of the Director of the New York Public Library during the first seventeen years of its existence. The late Dr. Billings seemed equally eminent as sanitarian and statistician, as war surgeon and medical historian; finally, he became a singularly distinguished administrator. As a contribution to the history of our country this volume is also notable, for we have had no really adequate record of the actual details of an army surgeon's daily life during the period of the Civil War. It is therefore very interesting to have the present account, because we see Hooker and Grant's campaigns, as it were, from behind the scenes.

Dr. Billings's three great later achievements were the Surgeon-General's Library, the Johns Hopkins Hospital, and the New York Public Library. Of course each of these endeavors has been set forth in separate historical chapters. The one on the Johns Hopkins Hospital is specially interesting. By the will of Johns Hopkins the hospital and university were endowed with nearly three and one-half million dollars each. Dr. Billings's particular connection with the hospital began in 1875, when the trustees sent out a circular letter to five experts in hospital construction, requesting that plans be sent in by them. Of these, the Billings plan was selected as the best. His services to the New York Library have rather obscured his earlier work; as Sir William Osler wrote: "How splendidly the Library seems to be arranged! I wish Carnegie would give the Bodleian a million dollars, and get you to come over and put us in order."

Psychology and Parenthood. By H. Addington Bruce. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. \$1.25.

The service rendered to the ordinary intelligent parent by the author of this most interest-

ing book is valuable because it brings within his horizon the ideas advanced by the best writers upon child knowledge. Many mothers are unable to extract for themselves, for good reasons, the information they would gladly use. The importance of environment in the development of character is the principal theme, but each chapter offers attractions. Especially enjoyable to the reader of Bergson is the treatment of his theory of laughter by Mr. Bruce. It is impossible to dwell upon the excellencies of the author's sane and clearly expressed views in detail. He has utilized personal observation, knowledge of biography, acquaintance with the actual psychological laboratory, and wise discrimination in perfecting his material. The result is to be highly recommended to every one who has any guardian or friendship rights in a little child.

Recollections of Full Years. By Helen H. Taft (Mrs. William Howard Taft). Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. \$3.50.

The title chosen by Mrs. Taft for her volume of recollections is completely descriptive. The simple narrative style is perfectly in harmony with the writer's point of view. By parentage, association, and choice Mrs. Taft has always lived in the atmosphere and companionship of lawyers. Since her marriage in 1885 she has witnessed and participated in all her husband's public activities. Officially in the Philippines, traveling in the Far East, living in Europe, returning to Washington as a member of the Cabinet circle, a hurried trip around the world, and finally becoming the mistress of the White House—all these experiences surely make for "full years." The large volume is profusely illustrated.

Ideals of the Prophets (The). Sermons by the late S. R. Driver, D.D. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$1.50.

Let no one think for a moment that a volume of sermons is a dry production in these days. For refreshment, enlightenment, literary enjoyment, and deeply spiritual encouragement, let the reader take up Canon Driver's book of sermons upon the ideals of the prophets. The charming simplicity of the great scholar, the modest firmness of his convictions, and the rare ability to stop preaching when he is done are all combined in this helpful book.

Oratory and Poetry of the Bible (The). By Ferdinand S. Schenck, D.D., LL.D. The George H. Doran Company, New York. \$1.25.

Professor Schenck here introduces to a wider circle the method he has used for years in bringing his students to enjoy reading the Bible. He reminds us that a large part of it "is the report of orations." To reproduce now any of the interest these roused in their hearers historical imagination must recreate the past from the data supplied in an introductory narrative, a concise report of the speaker, and an account of

the effect upon the hearers and in the historical sequel. These data are here given in the form of letters imagined to have been written by actual hearers at noteworthy points in Hebrew and Jewish history, and at others in the ministry of Jesus and the Apostles. The fair success attained by Professor Schenck in this unusual but not unprecedented method is its best recommendation.

Insects and Man. By C. A. Ealand, M.A. The Century Company, New York. \$3.50.

The author, late Principal of the East Anglian College of Agriculture in England, has made a very special study of insect life and has the skill and ability to present his knowledge in popular form; and that not solely through writing, but through pictures and drawings. He tells us about those insects which are harmful and beneficial to man. Incidentally it is stated that four insect species alone cost the United States \$92,000,000. It is not astounding, therefore, that the author should assert that in a sense insects control the destinies of nations, and that if the insect world were not divided against itself the human race would be extinct in five or six years.

How insects carry disease—at least nine deadly diseases are transmitted by insects; how bad insects injure live stock as well as man and plant growth; how good insects, and above all the bees, are the friends of mankind; how insects are useful in medicine; how sometimes great good has been done by transferring beneficial insects from one country to another where they are needed; how bad insects can be fought by means of good insects, or at least other insects—these and very many other things are presented in this book in an attractive way.

Scarlet Plague (The). By Jack London. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.

Mr. London has never done a truer or more consistent piece of imaginative work. The story is brief, but it holds the reader's attention with extraordinary closeness. One thinks of the best early work of Mr. Wells, and even of the imaginative realism of De Foe.

What would be the condition of the world if almost all its inhabitants were swept away by such a "scarlet plague" as is here made the basis of the story? That such a plague through an extremely infectious new micro-organism is possible, or at least that it is easily conceivable, cannot be denied. Mr. London supposes precisely what we have stated above to become true. He lays the scene of his tale in California, where only a very few scattered groups of survivors exist at great distances apart and without knowledge of one another. Inevitably there is a relapse to barbarism, and this is most graphically and sometimes rather horribly put

before the reader's mind. Out of this barbarism is to grow a new civilization—slowly, painfully, and tediously. Indications of the way in which it is to come about are given; but when one considers the possibility of another relapse, the trend of the story must be admitted to be practically hopeless.

True Ulysses S. Grant (The). By Brigadier-General Charles King. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. \$2.

We have no hesitation in saying that for general reading this is the best comparatively brief life of Grant in existence. The author's own military career and personal knowledge of many of the men and events he writes about is an assurance of true and sound judgment on points of comparative importance. His literary experience—many of us remember with pleasure his novels which depicted so vividly the social life of the army—insures the element of readability and vivacity.

What he has given us here is almost a story, so pictorial and picturesque is his narrative. So far as our knowledge of this series of "True" biographies and histories goes, the present volume has no superior among its predecessors.

Enchantment of Art (The). By Duncan Phillips. The John Lane Company, New York. \$2.50.

The title of this volume seems especially appropriate to three of its chapters—those on Giorgione, Tintoretto, and Velasquez. No one can have visited Castelfranco, where Giorgione was born and where his masterpiece hangs, without realizing this enchantment, even though other critics may not go so far as does Mr. Phillips in claiming that Giorgione was the first painter really to appreciate the nature of beauty and the beauty of nature. We are glad that Mr. Phillips draws attention to the underestimation of Giorgione's historical importance, first, because of Titian's greater glory; second, because only ten or twelve of the Giorgione pictures now pass unchallenged. As to Tintoretto, the enchantment is different. It is of a highly emotional quality, as becomes the influence of one of surpassing greatness in imagination and creative ardor. Finally, it is well to dwell on the enchantment of Velasquez's work. Here again Mr. Phillips is very emphatic in his praise; according to him, Velasquez "alone realized reality and left it more real than he found it." Many Velasquez lovers, however, will not be displeased that this critic uses one of his superlatives in connection with "Las Meninas" at Madrid, calling it, as he does, "the most wonderful picture in the world." This poem of the "subdued splendor of light" is indeed so perfect that one forgets its art and stands before it as in the midst of the life it represents. This is surely the enchantment of art.

BY THE WAY

An Arkansas town, Judsonia, has, according to a writer in the "Country Gentleman," attained prosperity through co-operation on the part of its strawberry growers. They formed an association which sells its members' products by the car-load for cash before shipment. Last year, it is stated, a total of 111,416 crates of strawberries were thus sold, bringing into the community \$178,362, which was largely deposited in the town's two banks.

The Russian Government apparently is not entirely engrossed by the war. It is said to be engaged in double-tracking the Trans-Siberian Railway at present, and to be planning to obtain for this purpose from 6,000 to 8,000 tons of railway spikes in Canada.

Most people have experienced the annoyance of waiting unduly for a shipment by freight, but it is seldom that an ocean steamer is held up by such a delay. This happened recently in the case of the Chaco, an Argentine transport. She had to wait two weeks at Camden, New Jersey, for a box which had been lost on the railway between Boston and Camden. The box contained valves for the equipment of the new battle-ship Rivadavia. It was finally located, and the steamer sailed for her destination, Buenos Aires.

The Turk, says H. G. Dwight in the "Century Magazine," "is a person of a certain force of character, endowed with virtues of honesty, simplicity, sobriety, patience, courage, and endurance." Anticipating the fall of Constantinople and the possible revival of Turkish genius in an expatriated home in Asia, Mr. Dwight warns us: "Perhaps, having neatly written out the stage direction, 'Exit the Turk,' we shall have to turn the page and inscribe at the top of the next act, 'Enter the Turk.'"

Safety committees of employees of the Southern Pacific Railroad last year made many suggestions as to avoiding accidents. The company adopted several of these suggestions and spent \$42,000 to carry them into effect. One of them was the construction of a subway at the Los Angeles shops, by which the men are enabled to go to and from their work without crossing the tracks, thus avoiding the danger of passing trains.

A generation ago, says Robert Grau in the "Dramatic Mirror," there were more "magicians" on theatrical tours in this country than all other traveling troupes combined. The day of the prestidigitateur has passed, however, except for an occasional appearance in vaudeville. One reason for the decline of his popularity, the writer says, was perhaps to be found in the frequent "fakes" perpetrated. An exam-

ple is given. A Southern city was placarded thus: "He Is Coming!" A few days later these posters were covered with the announcement: "He Is Here!" The next day came this: "He Will Be At Library Hall To-Night!" A great crowd stormed the box office. When the hall was completely filled, the curtain rose and displayed a canvas bearing the words: "*He Has Gone!*" The ticket-holders' money went with him, but most of them thought the joke was worth the half-dollar they had paid for admission.

In the use of automobiles *per capita* Iowa is placed at the head of the list of States, having one car to every 21 of its population; thirteen Western States follow Iowa in this list; Connecticut and Massachusetts come next, while New York is twenty-sixth, with one automobile to every 64 inhabitants. Louisiana, which is at the end of the procession, has one car to 512 of its population.

Art critics, like other people, sometimes make mistakes even in their specialties. One of them confesses in the "Fine Arts Journal" that when he saw Rodin's "Thinker" in front of the Panthéon in Paris he characterized the pose as "forced, unnatural, and almost impossible." On his making this remark to a fellow-artist, the latter "quickly assumed it [the pose] at the side of the marble, and I was forced to admit that, given the length of leg, the pose could be easily taken."

Don't despise the badly written postal card, moralizes a writer in "Business." He received a card that was written in a scrawl and showed signs of having been in the writer's pocket for some time after he had signed it. But it was answered just as if it had been written by a reputable business man. And it was! It seemed that the card had been hastily written on the cars, put into the merchant's pocket, discovered several days later, and then mailed. "We have since," concludes the writer, "done a very nice business with this man."

"The Brooklyn water-front is glutted with merchandise of all kinds," says the Brooklyn "Eagle." "Every sort of ship has been pressed into service to move the great mass of materials that fills every wharf along the South Brooklyn water-front. . . . Unheard of prices have been offered and paid for vessels." Cotton, machinery, automobiles, and munitions of war form the bulk of the waiting freight. Prices for carrying this "dead-weight tonnage" have increased fivefold in some cases, and perishable freight has advanced still more. "Bacon, for example, which was formerly carried for 12 or 15 shillings a ton, has been shipped this week at 150 shillings."